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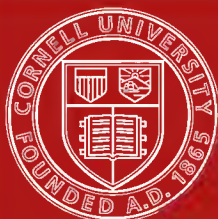
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ESSAYS ON HOME SUBJECTS

ESSAYS
ON
HOME SUBJECTS

BY
JOHN
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To the Essays has been added the Address which its author delivered on his installation, on 20th November, 1893, as Rector of the University of St. Andrews—an office to which His Lordship was elected for the usual period of three years in November 1892, and again in November 1895.

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ESSAYS ON HOME SUBJECTS.

ANCIENT CELTIC LATIN HYMNS.

*Anecdota quæ ex Ambrosianæ Bibliothecæ codicibus nunc primum eruit Ludovicus Antonius Mura-
torius. TOMUS TERTIUS. Patavii: Typis
Seminarii, MDCCXIII.*

*Leabhar imuiun. The Book of Hymns of the
Ancient Church of Ireland. Dublin: Printed
at the University Press, for the Irish Archæo-
logical and Celtic Society, 1855, and (Second
Part) 1869.*

IT is proposed in the following paper to give a short account of the group of Latin hymns which formed part of the literature, and some of which entered into the worship, of that antient Celtic Church of Ireland and Scotland, whose clergy, through an inaccuracy now happily almost extinct, were at one time frequently, and are even now occasionally, designated by the generic name of Culdees. It is not intended to deal with Celtic writers such as Sedulius, whose works have been mainly, if not entirely, confined to the Continent, nor with mediæval or modern hymnographers such as those whose compositions are found in the

Aberdeen Breviary, but only with those of the golden age of the Scoto-Irish Church, before its institutions became ruined or modified from Teutonic causes, such as the incursions of the Danes or the influence of the Cantuarian school of ecclesiasticism. Some few of these curious poems were certainly not themselves of Celtic origin, but their interest is well nigh the same, as throwing light upon the feelings, practices, and beliefs of the school by which they were assimilated.

The whole number of these Latin hymns of which the present writer knows of the existence, is twenty-seven, and with two exceptions they are all to be found either in the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* or in the *Leabhar imuiun*.

The *Antiphonarium Benchorense* is a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and was printed at full length by Muratori in the volume named at the head of this article. The text is extremely unsatisfactory, and may indeed in some places be fairly called unintelligible, but whether this be owing to the original MS., or to Muratori, or to his copyist, or to his printer, can only be ascertained by a fresh examination and publication of the text, which has yet to be made. Muratori supposed that the Codex itself was about a thousand years old. It certainly concludes with a poem in which Cronan, Abbat of Benchor from A.D. 680 to 691, is mentioned as still alive. The *Antiphonarium* is entirely in Latin. It is a sort of manual of hymns, canticles, prayers, blessings, etc.,—such a book, in fact, as, with the addition of the Psalter and Lessons, would roughly represent what is now

called a Breviary; and it is unnecessary to say that its consequent value to liturgiologists, as throwing light on the Rite of those who used it, is very great.

The *Leabhar imuiun* is represented by two MSS. One is in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and the late Dr. Todd undertook to edit it for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society. It was to appear in three parts; and of these, two were published, the second after Dr. Todd's death, with a promise on the part of the Society to publish the third 'at no distant period'—a promise which they have not yet fulfilled. Dr. Todd considered that the Trinity College MS. could not be assigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century. It consists mainly of canticles and hymns, with a few Latin prose pieces. It is filled with notes, and eight of the hymns are in Gaelic. The other MS. has never been printed at all. It was never seen by Dr. Todd, and has only lately been brought from the Irish house of St. Isidore at Rome to Dublin, where it is in the possession of the Franciscan Friars of the Convent at Merchants' Quay. It is rather shorter than the Trinity College MS. (though it contains two Latin hymns not in the latter), and has only five Gaelic poems. For these reasons it may be surmised that it is the older Codex of the two; a surmise rendered all the more probable by the fact that it does not contain the two hymns for the Festivals of Patrick and Brigid, of which we shall have hereafter to speak as the last, and seemingly most modern, of all the hymns to be noticed.

The first place among these compositions in point of antiquity is claimed, if not secured, by the *Hymn of Hilary in praise of Christ*—commencing with the words ‘Hymnum dicat turba fratrum’—‘Let the band of brethren say the hymn.’ It is certainly ascribed to the great Hilary of Poitiers, who died A.D. 369, and the arguments on which the authorship has been claimed for Hilary of Arles, who died in 449, cannot be described as convincing. The hymn itself bears the marks of a very remote antiquity, but the text is in a lamentably corrupt and uncertain state; so much so indeed, as to make any attempt at a quotation of reasonable length difficult. It was certainly written for some religious gathering before dawn, and very strongly recalls the statement of Pliny that ‘the Christians were accustomed to meet together on a certain day before the light, and to repeat a hymn to Christ as God.’ It consists of 148 short lines, and after a brief invitation to the brethren, opens with a striking though somewhat singular invocation to Christ himself—

Tu Dei de corde Verbum,	Nostro natus sæculo.
Tu Via, Tu Veritas,	Ante sæcla Tu fuisti ;
Jesse Virga Tu vocaris,	Factor primi sæculi ;
Te Leonem legimus ;	Factor cœli, terræ Factor,
Dextra Patris, Mons et Agnus,	Congregator Tu maris ;
Angularis Tu Lapis,	Omniumque Tu Creator
Sponsus Idem, El, Columba,	Quæ Pater nasci jubet.
Flamma, Pastor, Janua.	Virginis receptus membris
In Prophetis inveniris	Gabriele nuntio—— ¹

¹ Thou art the Word from the Heart of God ; Thou art the Way ; Thou art the Truth ; Thou art called the Rod of Jesse ; we read that Thou art the Lion ; Thou art the Right Hand of the Father ;

and so it proceeds through an epitome of His whole life, and ends with a renewed call on the brethren to praise him, now that the cock by crowing and flapping his wings is showing his consciousness of the near approach of day.

The hymn which may contest the palm of antiquity with the *Hymnum dicat* is one of fourteen verses of four lines each, but seemingly abbreviated from one of twenty-one verses, preserved at length in a Mozarabic Breviary. It is intended for use at midnight, commencing in the Benchor Antiphonary with the words, 'Mediæ noctis tempus est,'—'It is the time of midnight'—and is ascribed to the famous Ambrose of Milan, who died in 397. The contents seem to be clearly a paraphrase of a passage from his works (on Ps. cxviii.), in which he speaks first of the Israelites being protected by the blood upon their doorposts from the destroying angel who went through Egypt at midnight; then of Paul and Silas singing in prison at midnight; and lastly of the Parable of the Ten Virgins and the Bridegroom coming at midnight. In the hymn these two last subjects are clumsily transposed, and it may be speculated

Thou art the Mountain and the Lamb; Thou art the Corner-Stone; the Bridegroom also, EL, the Dove, the Flame, the Shepherd, the Door. In the Prophets art Thou found born into our world. Thou hast been before the worlds; Thou art the Maker of the first world; Thou art the Maker of heaven; Thou art the Maker of earth; Thou art the Gatherer-together of the sea; and Thou art the Creator of all things which the Father commandeth to come into being. Thou, at the message of Gabriel, wast received into the body of a Virgin, etc., etc.; etc.

EL is the Hebrew for 'God,' and is the reading of the Leabhar imuiun, the gloss of which comments upon it. Muratori reads *vel*.

whether such a paraphrase is not more likely to have been made by some disciple or student of Ambrose than by Ambrose himself; and the poem itself ascribed to him later, from being one of the Ambrosian School. Whoever be the actual author, the work itself possesses very great merit. It is not in the Book of Hymns.

If the date of these two hymns may be safely taken to be earlier than that of the conversion of Ireland, it may be considered uncertain whether that of the next is so or not. This is the hymn *Sancti Venite*, found only in the Benchor Antiphonary, and belonging to the very antient and small class of hymns intended to be sung during the administration of the Holy Communion; of which class, however, at least one other specimen (and that a very beautiful one), by Radpert, may be seen in Daniel's Thesaurus, iii. 293. The MS. called the Leabhar breac, embodies a legend that Patrick and his nephew Sechnall heard angels singing it on one occasion, and adds, 'So that from that time to the present that hymn is chanted in Erin when the Body of Christ is received.' The account appears to imply that the hymn itself was known before the time spoken of, when the writer believed a circumstance to have occurred which was the origin of a custom in his day universal and immemorial in Ireland. The guileless simplicity of the *Sancti Venite*, which is indeed rather a disconnected series of pious thoughts plainly expressed than a formal composition, makes it almost too delicate for translation; but at the same time invests it with a certain charm which

took the fancy of the late Dr. Neale, by whom it was gracefully paraphrased in the lines beginning, 'Draw nigh, and take the Body of the Lord,' and in that form it is, we believe, occasionally sung in Anglican churches at the present time. The text is as follows :—

Sancti Venite,	Qua adumbrantur
Christi Corpus sumite,	Divina mysteria.
Sanctum bibentes	Lucis Indulcor
Quo redempti Sanguinem ;	Et Salvator omnium
Salvati Christi	Praeclaram Sanctis
Corpore et Sanguine,	Largitus est gratiam.
A Quo refecti	Accedant omnes
Laudes dicamus Deo ;	Pura mente creduli
Hoc Sacramento	Sumant æternam
Corporis et Sanguinis	Salutis custodiam.
Omnes exuti	Sanctorum Custos
Ab inferni faucibus.	Rector quoque Dominus
Dator salutis	Vitæ perennis
Christus Filius Dei	Largitor credentibus,
Mundum salvavit	Cœlestem panem
Per Crucem et Sanguinem.	Dat esurientibus,
Pro universis	De Fonte Vivo
Immolatus Dominus	Praebet sitientibus.
Ipse Sacerdos	Alpha et Omega
Existit et Hostia.	Ipse Christus Dominus
Lege præceptum	Venit venturus
Immolari hostias	Judicare omnes. ¹

¹Come, O ye holy ! take the Body of Christ and drink the Holy Blood whereby ye are redeemed ; saved by the Body and the Blood of Christ, renewed by Him, let us give praise to God ; all delivered from the jaws of hell by this Sacrament of the Body and the Blood. The Giver of salvation, Christ the Son of God, hath saved the world through His Cross and Blood. The Lord offered up for all, is Himself the Priest and the Victim. That victims should be offered was commanded in the Law wherein are shadowed the mysteries of God. The Giver of light and Saviour of all hath granted an excellent

The Sechnall above mentioned is the undisputed author of the hymn *Audite Omnes* in praise of Patrick, whose labours are always spoken of in it as present, and his heavenly reward as future, but which was apparently written towards the end of his career—say about A.D. 490. The singing of it throughout the three days and three nights of Patrick's sleep-festival in spring was one of the four honours paid to his memory. To the grief of modern historians it is merely eulogistic, and can hardly be said to contain a single biographical statement. It is written in what the ancient Irish called the Hebrew manner, that is, it is ABCDarian, in imitation of several of the Psalms and portions of the Book of Lamentations. As I and J are in Latin the same, and also U and V, and as there is no W, it consists of twenty-three verses, each beginning with one of the letters of the alphabet respectively, in their regular order. As in the other compositions of this school of the same sort, X is represented by 'Christus,' in the Greek contraction of XPC for XPICTOC, and Y by Ymnus for Hymnus, in connection with which it is curious that *ymnon* is the only word in Irish that begins with or even contains a *y*. Each of the stanzas of the *Audite omnes* contains eight short

grace to His saints. Let all believers with pure minds draw near ; let them take the eternal safeguard of salvation. The Lord, the Guardian and Shepherd of the Saints, the Granter of everlasting life to them that believe, doth give unto the hungry Bread from heaven, doth offer to the thirsty drink from the Living Spring. The Alpha and Omega, the Lord Christ Himself is surely coming to judge mankind.

The imitation of an Hebrew idiom in *venit venturus* is remarkable.

lines, of which the last four are always a sort of appendix to the first four. The merit of the whole as a literary task, is certainly very considerable. The verse c is interesting as showing the way in which the celebrated text Matth. xvi. 18 was understood at the time and place of the writer—

Constans in Dei timore
Et fide immobilis,
Super quem ædificatur
Ut Petrum Ecclesia ;
Cujusque Apostolatum
A Deo sortitus est ;
In cujus portæ adversus
Inferni non prævalent.¹

The curious belief so widely spread, that at the Last when the Apostles shall sit upon thrones, judging the tribes of Israel, Patrick will have a throne also, and will judge the Irish, may possibly have originally sprung from verse Z—

Zona Domini præcinctus
Diebus ac noctibus
Sine intermissione
Deum orat Dominum,
Cujus ingentis laboris
Percepturus præmium
Cum Apostolis regnabit
Sanctus super Israël.²

¹ He is constant in the fear of God, and immovable in faith ; upon him is built a church, as upon a Peter ; and his apostolate he hath received from God ; the gates of hell do not prevail against him.

² He is girt with the belt of the Lord by day and by night ; he prays to the Lord God without ceasing ; and from Him is he to receive a reward for his vast toil ; he will reign with the Apostles, as a Saint, over Israel.

Before leaving the subject of the immediate surroundings of Patrick, it is as well to mention that the Benchor book contains a short hymn in honour of his disciple Caemhlach. It is ABCDarian, with one short line to each letter except Y and Z ; these two letters it either never had, or they have disappeared in the corruption of the text, which has evidently lost at least one line, and ends from X (supplying what is clearly the sense) ‘ Christ hath gently placed him [in the bosom] of the Patriarch Abraham ; he will reign in Paradise with holy Lazarus.’

Considering that Brigid, called the ‘ Mary of the Gael,’ is now held second only to Patrick in Irish hagiology, it is somewhat surprising that no mention of her is to be found in the Benchor Antiphonary. A possible explanation may be, that the Benchor book is strictly a manual for public worship, whereas the Leabhar imuiun is rather a poetical miscellany ; and the public celebration of Festivals in churches, in memory of Saints not Martyrs, is, with a few exceptions—such as was that of Patrick in Ireland, or of Comgall at Benchor—of comparatively later introduction. The earliest Latin poem concerning her seems to be a scrap consisting of three stanzas, beginning respectively with the letters X, Y, Z. The authorship is variously ascribed to Ninnidh, who was a lad during Brigid’s lifetime, to Fiach of Sletty, who was strictly her contemporary, or to Ultan of Ardbreccan, who flourished about a century later. Whichever be the case, and whether a somewhat different stanza, beginning with A, which is now

appended to the end, was or was not originally the first verse, the stanza Y seems to confirm the antient tradition that the hymn originally had stanzas for all the letters of the alphabet, and that the matter contained in it was of a more or less biographical character :—

Ymnus iste angelicæ
 Summeque sanctæ Brigidæ
 Fari non valet omnia
 Virtutum mirabilia
 Quæ nostris nunquam auribus
 Si sint facta audivimus
 Nisi per istam virginem
 Mariæ sanctæ similem.¹

Gildas, called the Wise, who is believed to have been the first to introduce the Roman Liturgy into Ireland, is the reputed author of a poem of the class called *Loricæ* or ‘breast-plates,’ being designed as protectives against evil, a class of composition of which the earliest specimen is the fine hymn in Gaelic claiming to be the work of Patrick himself. That the *Suffragare* is indeed by the ‘querulous’ author of the *De Excidio Britannia* is borne out by the Cymric words which it contains, and ‘the deadly pestilence of this year’ is conjectured to point to the Yellow Plague of A.D. 547. It is remarkable for the singular anatomical catalogue of the parts of the human body upon which protection is invoked, but almost the only bit which can really be styled poetical is the beginning, called in the text itself the first prologue :—

¹ This hymn of the Angelic and most holy Brigid is not able to tell all the wondrous works of power, the like whereof we have never heard of as wrought, save through this virgin, like unto the holy Mary.

Suffragare, Trinitatis Unitas—
 Unitatis miserere Trinitas—
 Suffragare, quæso, mihi posito
 Magni maris velut in periculo ;
 Ut non secum trahat me mortalitas
 Hujus anni neque mundi vanitas ;
 Et hoc idem peto a sublimibus
 Cœlestis militiæ virtutibus,
 Ne me linquant lacerandum hostibus
 Sed defendant me jam armis fortibus ;
 Ut me illi præcedent in acie
 Cœlestis exercitus militiæ,
 Cerubin et ceruphin (*sic*) cum millibus,
 Gabrihel et Michael cum similibus :
 Opto tronos, virtutes, archangelos,
 Principatus, potestates, angelos
 Ut me denso defendentes agmine
 Inimicos valeant prosternere ;
 Dum deinde cæteros agonetetas,
 Patriarchas, quatuor quater Prophetas,
 Apostolos navis Christi proretas
 Et martyres omnes peto athletas,
 Atque adjuro et virgines omnes
 Viduas fideles et professores
 Uti me per illos salus sepiat
 Atque omne malum a me pereat.
 Christus mecum pactum firmum feriat
 Cujus tremor tetra sturbas terreat.¹

¹ Help, O Unity in Trinity ! Have mercy, O Trinity in Unity ! Help me, I pray Thee, who am set as it were in the peril of the great sea ; that the deadly pestilence of this year and the vanity of the world may not carry me away. This same do I seek also from the noble powers of the heavenly host, that they leave me not for mine enemies to tear ; but defend me now with strong weapons ; that the army of the heavenly host may go before me in battle array—cherubin and seraphin, with thousands, Gabriel and Michael with the like. I desire the thrones, the virtues, the archangels, the principalities, the powers, and the angels, that they protect me with a numerous company and be strong to lay low my foes. While

One noticeable feature here is the peculiar Hebrew plural in *-în*, instead of *-îm*, a feature which seems to be one of the characteristics of the early Irish writers.

The Latin works of Columba would always be of interest for his sake, whatever their intrinsic worth, but the largest of them, the *Altus*, is in itself one of the most remarkable productions of its school. It is singular, considering the friendship between Columba and Comgall, that neither it nor either of the other poems ascribed to the same author are in the book of Benchor; a phenomenon, however, which may be explained on the same grounds as the silence of that Antiphony regarding Brigid. It attained great popularity. Legends describe its composition in such a way as practically to mean that it was inspired, or associate it with the most memorable epochs in the life of its author; later times believed that Pope Gregory the Great rose from his throne to listen to it standing. It was considered to be a most powerful *lorica*; a writer in the *Leabhar* says of it—

‘There is no disease in the world,
No difficulty, that it will not banish.’

The place where it was often said was believed to be preserved from want, the house where it had

lastly, I seek the other leaders, the Patriarchs, the Prophets four-times-four, the Apostles, the prow-men of Christ's ship, and all the wrestler Martyrs. And I call also upon all the virgins, the faithful widows, and professors, that through them health may hedge me round about, and every evil may perish from me. May Christ make a firm covenant with me, and may the fear of Him scare the foul bands!

been said to be that day free from strife, he who had said it to be that day safe from violent death. Maelsuthain O'Cearbhaill is represented as astonished that the seven-times singing of it did not save the life of his sick son, and his own recitation of it is told as one of the acts by which he worked out his salvation. The importance of the *Altus* is not so much on account of its length, though it is among the most considerable of these poems, nor even from its authorship considered by itself, but from its contents. It is in the so-called Hebrew or ABCDarian style, but it adheres far more closely to the model of the antient Jewish writers than do other hymns of the same kind, for in place of monotonous eulogy of a Saint, it praises the Most High directly for the power and goodness shown in different classes of his works, past, present, or future. Thus we learn the ideas of the writer upon divers subjects, not only of a religious kind, but cosmological; and some idea of his reading may be gained from his use of Greek and of one Hebrew word (*iduma* = *yad*, *yadaim* = hand, hands), and his quotations not only from Holy Scripture, with which his mind was evidently saturated, but also from other writers; the chapter B contains a passage from a work of Gennadius, a Priest of Marseilles in the fifth century; the chapter V is almost unintelligible, but seems probably founded on a Commentary on Job by one Philippus, a Priest, and disciple of Jerome; and it is a very strange coincidence if A was written without a knowledge of Athanasian Creed. Moreover, the poetic genius of Columba, though less free than in

the use of his mother tongue, rises to grandeur in spite of the hampering of a dead language. It is impossible to form any just estimate of the *Altus* without reading the whole, and it seems hardly fair to represent it to the reader by an analytical synopsis, and a quotation of two or three stanzas. However, a few words may be given, for the sake of comparison rather than for the sake of the poem. The initial verse, upon God Himself, and the first word of which is the *eponymus* of the poem, is as follows :—

Altus Prosator, Vetustus
 Dierum, et Ingenitus,
 Erat absque origine
 Primordio et crepidine,
 Est et erit in sæcula
 Sæculorum infinita ;
 Cui est Unigenitus
 Christus et Sanctus Spiritus
 Co-æternus in gloriâ
 Deitatis perpetuâ ;
 Non tres deos depromimus
 Sed Unum Deum dicimus,
 Salvâ fide in Personis
 Tribus gloriosissimis.¹

After this are seven chapters relating to angels and the creation of the world and fall of man, mainly as affecting them, and Columba's natural

¹The Most High, the Father of all, the Antient of days, and Unbegotten, without origin, without beginning, and without limit, was, is, and will be for ever and ever ; with Whom is co-eternal in everlasting glory of Godhead the Only begotten Son, who also is the Christ ; and the Holy Spirit. We set not forth three gods, but say that God is One, still holding ever the faith in Three Most Glorious Persons.

propensity to the terrible here excites him to dwell upon the fall of the lost spirits. On this follow seven chapters upon cosmogony, including the nether world and Paradise, which he treats as part of it ; this passage possesses a very curious element in the scientific theories expressed. Chapter Q recalls the manifestation of God upon Mount Sinai, as the most awful display of His power which has yet taken place ; and then come seven more chapters upon the end of the world ; these are perhaps the finest in the poem. They are extremely grand ; and V, which, as already remarked, seems to be a mystic application to the Second Advent of a passage in Job, is skilfully used to heighten the dramatic effect by contrast. R, S, T, and X are on the sounding of the trumpet, the descent of Christ, the resurrection and the judgment, and the work ends as it began, with the praise of the Almighty by His creatures :—

<i>Ymnorum cationibus</i>	<i>Zelus ignis furibundus</i>
<i>Sedulo tinnientibus—</i>	<i>Consumet adversarios</i>
<i>Tripudis sanctis millibus</i>	<i>Nolentes Christum credere</i>
<i>Angelorum vernantibus—</i>	<i>Deo a Patre venisse :</i>
<i>Quatuorque plenissimis</i>	<i>Nos vero evolabimus</i>
<i>Animalibus oculis,</i>	<i>Obviam Ei protinus,</i>
<i>Cum viginti felicibus</i>	<i>Et sic cum Ipso erimus</i>
<i>Quatuor senioribus</i>	<i>In diversis ordinibus</i>
<i>Coronas amittentibus</i>	<i>Dignitatum pro meritis</i>
<i>Agni Dei sub pedibus—</i>	<i>Præmiorum perpetuis,</i>
<i>Laudatur tribus vicibus</i>	<i>Permansuri in gloria</i>
<i>Trinitas æternalibus.</i>	<i>A sæculis in gloria.¹</i>

¹ By songs of praise ringing unceasingly, by thousands of Angels shining in holy dances, and by the four living creatures all full of eyes, with the four-and-twenty happy elders who cast down their

The authorship of the second hymn attributed to Columba, *In Te Christe credentium miserearis omnium*, ‘O Christ, have mercy upon all them who believe in Thee,’ was the subject of an antient doubt. Some held that all and some that none of it was by Columba; others ascribed to him only the second half. It is short, but naturally divides itself into two, and it must be confessed that the first part is that which shows the greatest identity of language with the *Altus*; the second part is the more uncouth.

Columba’s third hymn, the *Noli Pater*, is a full-blown specimen of the *lorica*, and the subject is very curious. The custom so widely spread among nations, of lighting fires on St. John’s Eve (the summer solstice) is generally admitted to be a remnant of sun worship, and the jumping over them or driving animals through them ‘for luck’ to be simply and plainly ‘passing through the fire to Baal’—indeed, the name of *bale*-fires, by which they are known in Scotland, is commonly supposed to be merely a corruption of the title of the god. Among Christians, however, the coincidence of dates has caused them to be popularly regarded as lighted in honour of the Baptist. This seems to have been the opinion of Columba, who looked upon them as prophylactics against accidents by

crowns under the feet of the Lamb of God,—the Trinity is praised in eternal repetitions of the hymn Thrice-Holy.

The raging fury of fire shall devour the adversaries, who will not to believe that Christ is come from God the Father: but we shall forthwith be caught up to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord, placed in everlasting ranks of exaltation and reward differing according to our deserts, and so to abide in glory, for ever and ever in glory.

fire, especially fire caused by lightning, and sought to intensify their usefulness as such by the hymn in question. His great name was in itself sufficient to gain it wide acceptance. 'It is sung,' says its preface, 'against every fire and every thunder-storm, and whosoever sings it at bed-time and at rising, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine persons whom he desires to protect.' This curious composition is as follows :—

Noli Pater indulgere tonitrua cum fulgure
 Ne frangamur formidine hujus atque uridine—
 Te timemus terribilem, nullum credentes similem ;
 Te cuncta canunt carmina Angelorum per agmina—
 Teque exaltant culmina cœli vagi per fulmina,
 O JESU Amantissime ! O Rex regum rectissime !
 Benedictus in sæcula recta regens regimina !
 Joannes coram Domino adhuc matris in utero ;
 Repletus Dei gratia pro vino atque sicera ;
 Elizabeth et Zacharias magnum virum genuit,
 Joannem Baptistam, precursorem Domini—
 Manet in meo corde Dei amoris flamma,
 Ut in argenti vase auri ponitur gemma.¹

The clause beginning 'Elizabeth et Zacharias' occurs in the mediæval and in the present Roman office for Midsummer's Day, and its occurrence in

¹ Father ! restrain Thou the thunders and the thunder-bolt, that the fear and the fire of them smite us not. Thee do we dread, O Thou Awful One ! and believe that there is none like unto Thee ; all the songs praise Thee, throughout the Angelic hosts. Thee also do extol the high heavens, the paths of the lightnings, O JESUS most loving ! O King of Kings most righteous ! Blessed for ever [art Thou,] ruling a righteous rule ! John was in the presence of the Lord, while yet in his mother's womb ; filled was he with the grace of God instead of wine or strong drink ; Elizabeth and Zacharias were the parents of a mighty man, even of John the Baptist, the Forerunner of the Lord. The flame of God's love abides in my heart, as a jewel of gold is laid up in a vessel of silver.

the *Noli Pater* seems to show that it was already in use for that festival before the time of Columba.

The antiquity of the anonymous hymns contained in the Benchor Antiphonary can be guessed merely from their contents; three of them seem probably earlier than the seventh century, if not indeed coeval with, or possibly even older than the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

The hymn styled (for no apparent reason) ‘Of the Apostles,’ and commencing with the words *Precamur Patrem*, is a long composition of forty-two verses of four lines each, unhappily marred by two lacunæ owing to the decay of the MS. It embodies a sort of epitome of the Life of Christ, and strongly resembles the two compositions first noticed in this paper, especially the *Hymnum dicat*. As it begins with a sort of welcome to the Lord’s Day, it may not improbably have formed part of that *vespertina Dominicæ noctis missa*, which was the last service attended by Columba upon earth. The language is very noble; and it opens with a comparison between His Own Day and the Lord Himself, which the present writer does not remember to have ever met with elsewhere. The poet takes the first mention of Sunday from the Bible:—‘and the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. . . . And God said: Let there be light. And there was light. And God saw the light that it was good. And God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day’—and he remembers

with this that our Lord is 'begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light,' and so hails the Lord and His Day together as first-born children of light.

Precamur Patrem.	Lumen æternum
Regem Omnipotentem,	Missum Patre sæculo.
Et JESUM Christum,	Illeque proto (<i>sic</i> , from the
Sanctum quoque Spiritum.	Greek)
Alleluia.	Vires adimens caho
Deum in una	Tum improvise
Perfectum substantia	Noctem pepulit mundo ;
Trinum	Ita æterno
.	Iste hoste subacto
Universorum	Polum nodoso
Fontis jubar luminum	Solvit mortis vinculo.
Æthereorum	Tenebræ super
Et orbi lucentium.	Ante erant abyssum
Hic enim dies	Quam radiaret
Velut primogenitus	Primus dies dierum ;
Cœli ab arce	Hæc quam prodiret
Mundi (¶ mundo) olim micuit.	Vera lux mortalia
Sic Verbum caro	Contextit alta
Factum a principio	Corda ignorantia. ¹

¹ We pray to the Father, the Almighty King, and to JESUS Christ, also to the Holy Ghost. Alleluia. (Possibly this Alleluia may be intended to be repeated as a sort of Response after every verse, a feature which will be observed in some other hymns.) God perfect in One Being, Three ray from the source of all lights in heaven and which shine upon the globe. For this day of old time shone upon the earth as a first-born, from the height of heaven : even so was the Word, Eternal Light from the beginning, made flesh and sent from the Father into the world. And that [day] destroying the primal chaos, then thrust away the night from the earth unseen before : so did He, triumphing over the old enemy, free the sky from death's strong fetter. Darkness was upon the deep before there burst forth the first day of days : before that True Light came forth, deep ignorance covered the dying hearts.

Day of days is a not uncommon appellation of Sunday, primarily applied to Easter Sunday.

The hymn *Sacratissimi Martyres* is one of the noblest efforts of Celtic Latinity. It is marked as to be used on Martyrs' Birthdays (*i.e.*, their birth by temporal death into a higher life), or for the Sabbath at Mattins—*i.e.*, the midnight service between Friday and Saturday, or that of daybreak on Saturday, for although Adamnan mentions the bell ringing at midnight for the *hymni matutini*, some of the phrases in the Benchor book (which never mentions Lauds or Prime) clearly point to daybreak as an hour for Mattins. It has a refrain of Alleluia, which may be supposed to have been sung by all present, while the hymn itself was chanted by the precentors.

Sacratissimi Martyres summi	Qui cum ipsa crucis
Dei,	Paterentur morte
Bellatores fortissimi	Tibi Sancti caneant—Alleluia.
Christi Regis, potentissimi	Christe! Martyrum Tu es
Duces exercitus Dei,	Adjutor potens præliantium
Victores in cœlis	Sancta pro Tua gloria,
Deo canentes—Alleluia.	Qui cum victores
Excelsissime Christe!	Exirent de hoc sæculo
Cœlorum Deus Cherubin, (<i>sic</i>)	Tibi sancti caneant—Alleluia.
Cui sedes cum Patre sacra,	Illustris Tua Domine
Angelorum ibi et Martyrum	Laudanda virtus quæ per Spiritum
Fulgens chorus	tum
Tibi sancti proclamant—Alleluia.	Sanctum firmavit Martyres
Magnifice, Tu prior	Qui consternerent Zabulum
Omnium passus crucem,	Et mortem vincerent,
Qui devicta morte refulsisti	Tibi sancti caneant—Alleluia.
Mundo, ascendisti ad cœlos;	Manu Dei excelsa
Tibi Sancti proclamant—Alleluia.	Protecti contra Diabolum
Armis spiritalibus	Steterunt firmati
Munita mente Apostoli	Semper Trinitati fidem
Sancti Te sunt secuti,	Toto corde servantes;
	Tibi sancti caneant—Alleluia.

Vere regnantes erant (? erunt.)	Supplices obsecremus
Tecum, Christe Deus !	Ut in Ipsius gloriam
Qui passionis merito coronas	Consummemur, et in sanctam
Habent et centenario	(? sancta)
Fructu repleti gaudent ;	Hierusalem civitatem (? civitate)
Tibi sancti proclamant—Alle-	Dei
luia.	Trinitati cum sanctis
Christi Dei gratiam	Dicamus—Alleluia. ¹

The hymn *Spiritus Divinæ* for the Mattins of the Lord's Day is another work bearing the marks of great antiquity, and itself of much intrinsic grandeur. The interest is heightened by the feeling that if Columba had lived another quarter of an hour he might have been singing it. Unhappily the precise meaning is often very obscure, and this

¹ Holy Martyrs of God Most High, strong fighters for King Christ, mighty leaders of God's army, conquerors in heaven, singing to God—Alleluia. Exalted Christ ! God of the heavenly cherubim, Thou Who sharest the Father's holy throne, there the Saints, the bright choir of Angels and Martyrs, cry aloud unto Thee—Alleluia. O glorious One ! first of them all to suffer the cross, Thou Who, when Thou hadst conquered death, didst flash back upon the world, Thou hast ascended into heaven ; unto Thee the Saints cry aloud—Alleluia. The holy Apostles, with minds shielded by spiritual weapons, followed Thee, Saints who, as they suffered the very death of the Cross, sang unto Thee—Alleluia. O Christ ! Thou art the mighty Helper of the Martyrs who wrestle for Thine holy glory, Saints who, when they left this world as conquerors, sang unto Thee—Alleluia. Praised, O Lord, be Thy famous power, which, by the Holy Ghost, steeled the Martyrs to lay Satan low and conquer death : unto Thee the Saints sang—Alleluia. By God's high hand protected against the devil, they stood steeled, ever keeping true to the Trinity with all their hearts ; unto Thee the Saints sang—Alleluia. In good sooth shall they reign with Thee, O God Christ ! they who have earned by suffering the crowns they hold, and rejoice, filled with fruit an hundredfold ; to Thee the Saints cry aloud—Alleluia. Let us humbly ask the grace of the God Christ that we may be perfected in His glory, and in the holy Jerusalem, the city of God, may with the Saints say to the Trinity—Alleluia.

seems probably owing, at least in part, to the corrupt state of the text as printed by Muratori. It has a distinct refrain, which, even more than those of the hymns already cited, gives the idea of being intended to be sung by the whole choir, while the precentors only chanted the rest, like the Invitatories to the *Venite* in the Roman office-books. The sense of the hymn is to lay stress upon the feature of Sonship in our Lord, and to welcome His Day with an invocation of Him Who upon it, being already from eternity the Only-begotten Son of God (John i. 18) and in time the first-born Son of Mary (Luke ii. 7) became also the first-born of the dead (Col. i. 18; Rev. i. 5) and therein the first-born among many brethren (Rom. viii. 29).

Spiritus Divinæ	Procreati ex fonte vivunt.
Lucis gloriæ	Respice.
Respice in me	Hæredes et quohæredes
Domine	Christi Tui, in Quem
Deus veritatis	Et per Quem cuncta creasti,
Domine Deus Sabaoth.	Quia in prædestinatione
Deus Israhel,	A sæculis nobis est
Respice.	Deus JESUS Qui nunc cœpit.
Lumen de Lumine	Respice.
Referemus Filium Patris	Unigenito ex mortuis
Sanctumque Spiritum	Deo obtinens corpus
In Una Substantia.	Claritatem Dei manens
Respice.	In sæcula sæculorum
Unigenitus et Primogenitus	Rex æternorum.
A Te obtinemus	Respice.
Redemptionem nostram.	Quia nunc cœpit Qui semper
Respice.	Fuit naturæ Tuæ Filius
Natus es Spiritu Sancto	Divinæ Lucis gloriæ Tuæ
Ex Maria Virgine	Qui est forma et plenitudo
In idipsum in adoptionem	Divinitatis Tuæ frequens.
Filiorum qui Tibi	Respice.

Persona Unigeniti	Et Deum verum a Deo vero
Et Primogeniti	Semper semper confitemur
Qui est Totus a Toto	Tribus Personis
Diximus Lux de Lumine.	In una substantia
Respice.	Respice in me Domine. ¹

With these hymns may be said to end the most interesting and attractive of the group of compositions here dealt with. Before, however, passing to those locally connected with Benchor, and therefore hardly to be ascribed to any date earlier than the seventh century, it is well to mention the hymn of the Antiphonary which begins *Ignis Creator igneus*—‘Fiery Creator of the fire,’ and

¹ Spirit of the Divine Light of glory—Lord, do Thou look upon me. God of Truth, Lord God of Sabaoth, God of Israel—Lord, do Thou look upon me. We will confess that the Son of the Father is Light of Light, and that the Holy Ghost is of one [and the same] Substance—Lord, do Thou look upon me. Only-begotten and First-begotten, from Thee we have our redemption—Lord, do Thou look upon me. Thou wast born by the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary for this very purpose, for the adoption of sons who are born of the font and live unto Thee—Lord, do Thou look upon me. Heirs and joint-heirs with Thy Christ, for Whom and by Whom Thou hast created all things, for in predestination He Who now beginneth is from everlasting our God JESUS—Lord, do Thou look upon me. [The text of the next verse seems to be almost certainly corrupt, and in the absence of a new examination of the Codex, nothing more can be done than to give a literal translation of the words as printed by Muratori.] God Only-begotten from the dead, having a Body, the Brightness of God, abiding for everlasting the King of everlasting ages—Lord, do Thou look upon me. For now doth He begin who hath ever been the Son of Thy nature, Who is the express image of the Divine Light of Thy glory, and the abounding fulness of Thy Godhead—Lord, do Thou look upon me. The Person of the Only-begotten and First-begotten Who is all of all—we have said—Light of Light—Lord, do Thou look upon me. And ever, ever do we confess that He is Very God of Very God—Lord, in Three Persons, in One substance, do Thou look upon me.

which is headed by a direction to use it 'when the wax-candle is blessed.' The contents leave no doubt that the Paschal candle is meant, and the hymn itself, like the Roman *Exultet* for the same occasion, after expressing the wish that the light may burn all night, speaks of the column of cloud and fire which led the Israelites out of Egypt, and then of the work of bees, of the formation and combustion of wax. Part of it may remind the reader of the beautiful lines in *Ivanhoe*—

When Israel of the Lord beloved	Ex Ægypto migrantibus
Out of the land of bondage came,	Indulges geminam gratiam ;
Her fathers' God before her moved	Nubis velamen exhibes,
An awful Guide in smoke and	Nocturnum lumen porrigis—
flame.	

By day along the astonished lands	Nubis columna per diem
The cloudy pillar glided slow ;	Venientem plebem protegis ;
By night Arabia's crimsoned sands	Ignis columna ad vesperum
Returned the fiery column's glow.	Noctem depelliis lumine.

The death of Comgall of Benchor is recorded at A.D. 602. The Antiphonary of his monastery contains, as might be expected, a long poem in his honour. It is monotonously eulogistic, without biographical interest, and certainly wearisome. It is the most artificial composition of its class. After an introductory stanza, it proceeds to give one to every letter of the alphabet, each stanza being of eight lines, exclusive of a refrain of—

Quem Deus ad ætherea
Conduxit habitacula
Ab Angelis custodita
Permansura in sæcula.¹

¹ God hath brought him to the heavenly mansions, which are guarded by Angels, and will endure for ever.

—of which the whole or the two latter lines are alternately appended to every verse. But, in addition to this, the author has contrived to make every line in each stanza respectively, with rare exceptions, end with the same syllable; and has also evidently desired to make the capital letter of each stanza the first letter of every line in it, an aim which he has only fully attained with A and D.

The lines beginning and ending *Benchuir bona regula*—‘Good is the rule of Benchor’—are an ardent benediction upon that monastery, by means of a number of Scriptural comparisons, including the Ark of the Covenant, and the Virgin Mother herself. Curiously enough the Gaelic word *Munther* (Muintir) is used in it (probably to suit the scansion) instead of *familia*.

Somewhat similar is the poetical commemoration of the Abbots of Benchor with which the Antiphonary ends, and the date of which, and possibly of the MS. containing it, is indicated, by the name of the Abbat whose long life is prayed for, to be somewhere between 680 and 691.

There are no more rhythmical hymns contained in the Antiphonarium Benchorense, beyond those above mentioned, but there remains to be mentioned one which is certainly, and four which are possibly, older than that Codex.

Cummain Fota of Clonfert, who died in 661 or 662, is the author of a hymn in honour of the Apostles. It begins with the words *Celebra Juda*, and consists of twenty-three short stanzas, of which all but the first have a refrain of *Alleluia*. A verse each is given to St. Peter, St. Paul, the eleven other

Apostles, SS. Mark, Luke, Patrick, and Stephen; the omission of St. Barnabas is remarkable. Cummain had a great reputation for learning, which is borne out by the Hebrew scholarship displayed in commenting upon the proper names.

Molaisran of Leighlin—better known in Scotland as Molio of the Holy Isle in Lamlash Bay—died in 639. The Trinity College Codex contains an uncouth hymn in his honour, with one short line for every letter of the Alphabet, but that it is of a date near to his own time must be regarded as at least very problematical, especially if a prayer at the end, in which he is styled *summus sacerdos*, be contemporary with the rest of the composition, since the idea of his having been a bishop seems so much opposed to the known facts of his life as to postulate a considerable lapse of time for its evolution. In the text of the hymn, however, he is only called an approved abbat. Whatever be the case, the hymn is not found in the St. Isidore Codex.

This Codex, however, is peculiar in containing two hymns which are probably of the seventh century. The first of these is a short hymn, beginning *Christe Qui Lux es*—‘O Christ, Who art the Light’—and evidently intended for use before retiring to rest. It contains the prayer for protection against evils in the night, which is usually found in hymns for the same occasion. It belongs to the Ambrosian school, and is, of course, attributed to Ambrose himself; but the date here suggested for it, is that assigned to it by Daniel in his *Thesaurus*. The other hymn is a long composition beginning with the words *Christi, Patris in dextera*. It is about the

Apostles, and conveys the idea of being intended for the Feast of Pentecost, an idea supported by the fact that it contains just *fifty* lines. It is marked by the first dozen lines all ending with *a*, the second dozen with *um*, and the rest with *a*, except the 37th and 38th, which end in *o*. This appears to have been much admired, as these terminations are not, in the MS., attached to the words to which they belong, but arranged in a column at the end of the lines, running down the page.

The same frigid conceit forms the chief feature of an old Irish ABCDarian hymn in praise of Brigit, which is found written in the beginning of an antient Irish copy of the Greek Psalter, preserved at Bâle. The hymn itself is printed by Mone (iii. 241), and consists of 46 lines, with four more added, all ending with *a* except one which ends in *æ*. It is merely eulogistic, and that, to an extreme degree, ending with the statement that 'she hath sat down upon the throne along with the mother Mary.' It is marked by the use of Greek words, so characteristic of the oldest Irish Latinists.

Of the early part of the eighth century we possess three Latin hymns. A certain change of style now becomes perceptible, appearing, among other things, in the celebration of Saints of Scripture, a practice of which Cummain Fota seems to offer the only earlier example. One of these hymns is a prayer for the protection of the Archangel Michael, attributed to the three sons of Murchon, of whom one (Colman) is stated to have died in 731.

The style strikes the present writer as showing an approach to the mediæval. An air of greater antiquity distinguishes the six verses in praise of Oengus McTipraite (who died in 745), which enjoyed a reputation as a *lorica*.

There seems to be no doubt that the remaining poem of the three is really by Cuchuimne, who died in 742, 746, or 747, and is unpleasantly distinguished from the other authors here noticed by the fact of a part of his career having been stained by moral obliquity, the subject of a sufficiently pungent epigram attributed to Adamnan. The somewhat un-Irish style is probably to be explained by the attainments of Cuchuimne (which are admitted) familiarizing him with foreign compositions. This hymn is again in honour of a Scriptural personage, namely, of the Blessed Virgin, being the only one in her praise belonging to the group here discussed, but it is in itself a proof of the feeling on the subject entertained among the members of the antient Scoto-Irish churches.

Cantemus in omni die	Quod conceptumet susceptum
Concinentes varie	In utero materno.
Conclamantes Deo dignum	Hæc est summa, hæc est sancta,
Hymnum sanctæ Mariæ.	Virgo venerabilis,
Bis per chorum hinc et inde	Quæ ex fide non recessit
Collandemus Mariam	Sed extetit stabilis.
Ut vox pulset omnem aurem	Huic matri nec inventa
Per laudem vicariam.	Ante nec post similis,
Maria de tribu Judæ	Nec de Prole fuit plane
Summi mater Domini	Humanæ originis.
Opportunam dedit curam	Per mulierem et lignum
Ægrotanti homini.	Mundus prius periit,
Gabriel advexit verbum	Per mulieris virtutem
Siuu Patris paterno	Ad salutem rediit.

Maria mater miranda	Induamus arma lucis
Patrem suum edidit	Loricam et galeam
Per Quem aqua late lotus	Ut simus Deo prefecti
Totus mundus credidit.	Suscepti per Mariam.
Hæc concepit Margaretam—	Amen, Amen, adjuramus
Non sunt vana somnia—	Merita Puerperæ
Pro qua sani Christiani	Ut non possit flamma pyræ
Vendunt sua omnia.	Nos diræ decipere.
Tunicam per totam textam	Christi nomen invocemus
Christi mater fecerat,	Angelis sub testibus
Quæ peracta Christi morte	Ut fruamur et scribamur
Sorte statim steterat.	Litteris cœlestibus. ¹

The 'Patrem suum edidit' will remind readers of Dante of the line in the *Paradiso*—

Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,
O Virgin Mother, daughter of Thy Son.

¹ Let us sing every day in changing harmony, raising to God with one consent a worthy hymn of the holy Mary. Backward and forward, from this side of the choir and from that, let us join together in praising Mary, that the voice may strike on every ear with praise from one and the other in turn. Mary of the tribe of Judah, the Mother of the Lord Most High, hath given timely heed to sick mankind. Gabriel brought, from the fatherly breast of the Father, the Word which was conceived and received in the mother's womb. This is the excellent, this is the holy, venerable Maiden, who failed not in faith, but stood firm. Neither before her nor since hath one been found like to this Mother; nor was she [the parent] of a Child of merely human origin. The world first perished by a woman and a tree; by a woman's virtue hath it returned to health. Mary, the wondrous Mother, brought forth her own Father, and through Him all the world widely washed in water hath believed. She conceived the Pearl—these are not idle dreams—for which wise Christians sell all that they have. The Mother of Christ made the seamless garment woven from the top throughout which, when Christ's death was done, was forthwith put to lot. Let us put on the armour of light, the breast-plate and the helmet, that we may be presented to God, received through Mary. Amen, amen—we invoke the sake of her that bare, that the fire of the dread burning may not be able to take us: we call upon the name of Christ, in the presence of the Angels, that we may rejoice, and may be written in the book of heaven.

It is interesting to notice in this composition the evidence that the Antiphonal mode of singing was in use in the time of the writer, as also the occurrence of the well-known comparison or rather contrast, between Eve with the tree of knowledge, and Mary at the Cross, the tree of life of the Second Adam. This hymn seems to supply one of the earliest statements as to the making of the seamless garment; and, if any weight can be attached to quantities in the Latinity of this school, it is worth remarking that the writer follows some very antient examples in shortening the penultima of *Maria*. The old gloss upon this hymn is also remarkable as one of the passages showing that the reading *Stella Maris* for *Stilla Maris* (Star-of-the-Sea for Drop-of-the-Sea) which is now found in Jerome's treatise on Hebrew names as an interpretation of the name Mary, and is apparently a corruption, was not the reading known in Ireland; the meaning given is *Stilla Maris*.

The Trinity College Codex alone contains two hymns for the Feasts of Patrick and Brigid respectively, commencing with the words *Ecce fulget clarissima Patricii solemnitas*, 'Behold, the solemn Feast-day of Patrick is shining with glorious brightness,' and *Phæbi diem fert orbita*, 'The path of Phœbus brings the day.' Neither are long, and both bear a greater resemblance to mediæval and foreign poems than to the earlier works of their own school. That in praise of Patrick is the longest, the best, and also the most national in style; but its very existence seems to point to a period when the singing of the hymn of Sechnall

for three days and three nights had ceased to distinguish the anniversary of the falling-on-sleep of the son of Calphurn.

It must be admitted that the interest of these poems is mainly, though by no means entirely, archæological. Some of the writers were certainly endowed with a poetical genius, but even with these, the struggle against a dead language is less successful than in the case of several continental authors, and the beauty of their compositions lies rather in the impressiveness of sincere and earnest feeling expressed with taste and simplicity. The real value of their works is chiefly in the character of monuments, not only of the prevalent beliefs and practices of their time and race, but also of the state of literary culture, among which the evidences of the study of Greek and Hebrew are not the least remarkable feature.

THE NEW LIGHT UPON ST. PATRICK.

Vita Sancti Patricii, Hibernorum Apostoli, auctore Muirchu Maccumachtheni, et Tirechani Collectanea de S. Patritio—nunc primum integra ex Libro Armachano, ope Codicis Bruxellensis. Edidit R. P. EDMUNDUS HOGAN, S.J., operam conferentibus PP. Bollandianis. (Excerptum ex *Analectis Bollandianis*.) Bruxellis. Typis Polleunis, Ceuterick et Lifébure, 1882.

IT has long been admitted among the learned that the documents concerning the Apostle of Ireland, contained in the Book of Armagh, are the purest and earliest records of his life which exist, and to a great extent the foundations upon which all subsequent matter of the sort has been based, and that among these documents the most important pieces, after the *Confession*, which is the work of Patrick himself, are the *Life* and the *Collectanea*. That these works had hitherto been placed before students only in a most imperfect manner was but little less matter of regret and complaint than the fact that the *Life* was imperfect in the Armagh Codex, and that the loss of the beginning, in particular, rendered it useless upon the earlier part of his career, and especially upon the details of his mission to Ireland, the very point upon which historical controversy had been most

keenly exacerbated, one group of writers maintaining that he was an emissary despatched by Pope Celestine before the end of July, A.D. 432, and another that his emigration to the scene of his apostolate was of somewhat later date. The excitement among the increasing school to whom the history of Ireland and of Celtic Christianity is the subject of scientific investigation was therefore very great, when it was known that the Bollandist, Fr. de Smedt, had discovered a new Codex of the same biography as that contained in the Book of Armagh, embracing not only the three chapters hitherto missing in the body of the work, but the lost commencement as well. The Bollandists, with that earnest devotion to solid historical science which is among them so glorious a tradition, determined to issue a critical text of the *Vita* and *Collectanea*, and entrusted the task to Fr. Edmund Hogan, now one of the Professors of Gaelic in the Catholic University of Dublin. The result most fully justifies the acuteness of their selection. The least merit of the work is that it is printed with a luxurious clearness which robs the masses of footnote and reference of nearly all their terrors. The texts have been produced with such correctness that a most searching examination by Dr. Whitley Stokes is said to have revealed only some half-dozen unimportant misprints. The collations of the MSS. are given in full, with the addition of a vast number of ingenious conjectural emendations, and a judicious number of pregnant notes. The lucid clearness of the editor's own style is a merit of which it would be affectation to deny the value,

when the question is of reading a book in Latin, and he has been singularly happy in the way in which, in an introduction consisting entirely of matter of the keenest interest, he has succeeded in being concise without obscurity, and full without diffuseness. The extent of his reading is evidently admirable, and he is gracefully courageous in his references to other writers, while he seems himself to have succeeded in forming, although he abstains from enunciating it, some definite idea of his own upon the history of Patrick, a feat the difficulty of which can be realised only by those who have attempted it.

The Book of Armagh is a New Testament, enriched with Concordance Tables; and illustrative matter from Hilary, Jerome, and the arch-heretic Pelagius. It contains the Epistle to the Laodiceans, attributed to St. Paul, though with the remark that Jerome denies its authenticity. The books of Scripture are followed by pieces relating to Martin of Tours, and preceded by four connected with Patrick. These are (*a*) the *Life* (*b*) the *Collectanea*, followed by an Index of the preceding, (*c*) the *Book of the Angel*, or alleged Revelation made to Patrick by the Angel Victor concerning the prerogatives of the Church of Armagh, and (*d*) the *Confession*. The precise date of the MS. has been discovered with extraordinary acuteness by the Rev. Charles Graves. By minute investigation he found, in a palimpsest form, some colophons indicating that it had been written by one Ferdomnach, at the order of a Bishop of Armagh, whose name ended in *ach*. The deaths of two

scribes of Armagh named Ferdomnach are recorded at 726 and 844 respectively, but the latter alone was contemporary with Bishops whose names ended in *ach*, and of these the name of Torbach alone fits the space of the erasure. As Torbach sat only one year, the date is fixed with certainty to 806 or 807, or accepting O'Donovan's amended chronology, 811 or 812. The idea, however, came to prevail that the MS. contained an autograph of Patrick;¹ as early as 937 Donnchad, son of Flann, King of the Irish, enclosed it in a precious reliquary; and the M'Moyre family were ultimately endowed (*Maor* = Keeper) to keep it safely. Florence M'Moyre pawned it for £5 in 1680, when he was going to London to give evidence against Archbishop Oliver Plunket. Thus it came into the hands of Arthur Brownlow, and remained in the Brownlow family till 1853, when the Rev. William Reeves bought it for £300, and sold it for the same sum to the Anglican Archbishop Beresford, on condition that it should be deposited for ever in Trinity College Library, where it now is. As regards the dates of the two authors whose works are now published from this noble Codex in so worthy a form, both are of the seventh century. Tirechan describes himself as a disciple of Ultan O'Conchobair, whose death is recorded at A.D. 656, and Muirchu Mac-cumachtheni as writing at the command of Aed, Bishop of Sletty, who died about A.D. 698.

¹ Possibly on account of the following words (evidently referring to the contents or copied from a note on the original copy) after the *Confession*—'Thus far the book which Patrick wrote with his own hand. On the seventeenth day of March was Patrick taken to the heavens.'

The newly discovered text of the *Life* is contained in a MS. collection of Saints' Lives in the Royal Library of Brussels; and the only complaint which can be made of Fr. Hogan is that he has not given a rather fuller account of the other contents of this volume. It is true that these so-called biographies only too generally consist of stories which can scarcely be called history, but it is from them, by a proper application of critical solvents, that a very great deal of the true history of the times to which they relate is derived, and they are, at worst, most interesting monuments of the epoch when they were written, and picturesque records of very antient and generally graceful popular legends. This actual volume shows three hands of the eleventh century. It formerly belonged to the Irish Monastery of Würzburg.

To write a thorough disquisition upon the publication now in question would be to write a book upon the Life and Times of Patrick. It is therefore proposed here merely to take the portion, nearly all of which is perfectly new, viz., that touching the career of Patrick till his arrival in Ireland as her Apostle, and to set it in comparison, assisted by a few observations, with his own account of the same period in his *Confession*. This is indeed the only part of his Life which can be submitted to that test. To the rest of the book it is purposed to refer here no more than may be necessary, and an endeavour will also be made to keep as clear as possible of the wearisome, envenomed, and not unfrequently even ridiculous

controversies which have for so long raged around this interesting subject. The scribe of the Würzburg Codex gives the reader at the very outset a terrible indication of his ignorant capacity. His so-called Prologue is actually a scrap from some Life of Basil the Great, with two sentences regarding Patrick embedded in it. They are as follows :—¹

‘From the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ unto the death of Patrick are reckoned 436 years.

‘I have found four names in the book *Scripta Patricii* belonging to Bishop Ultan Concubrensus:² holy *Imigonus*, which is clear; *Sucsetus*, he is Patrick; for he served four houses of magi, and one of them whose name was the magus *Miluch Mocuboin* bought him, and he served him seven years. Patrick the son of Alforus had four names. *Sochet*, when he was born; *Contice*, when he served; *Mavonius*, when he read; *Patrick*, when he was ordained.’

Since it may be regarded as certain that Maccumachtheni imagined the Passion to have taken place in A.D. 34, it will be observed that he

¹The heading, after the real old Irish manner, contains a Greek word, ‘In the name of the King of the sky, the Saviour of this kosmos.’

²*Abuduldanum episcopum Concubrensum*. Fr. Hogan’s conjectural emendation for the first word is ‘apud Ultanum.’ *Concubrensum* is elsewhere written *Conchuburnensium*. From his being called, in the Festology of Oengus, *maic hui Conchobair*, it would appear that this strange title simply means that his surname (as we should now call it) was ‘O’Conchobar.’ *Concubrensum* or *Conchuburnensium* is perhaps meant for a Genitive Plural, and, if so, would mean, ‘Bishop of the Hyconchobar.’

fixes the death of Patrick at or about A.D. 470. After this singular preface, the *Life* proceeds as follows :—¹

‘1. Of the birth of holy Patrick and of his captivity in Ireland.

‘Patrick, who was also called *Sochet*, a Briton by nation, [was] born in the Britains,² begotten of the Deacon Cualfarnus, a son, as he himself saith, of the Priest Potitus, who was of the village *Ban navem thabur indecha*, not (*ut? haud*) far from our sea, which village we have constantly and undoubtedly ascertained to be *ventre*,³ conceived also of a mother named Concessa. When he was a boy of sixteen years [of age] he was captured along with others, carried over into this island of savages, [and] held in slavery with a certain heathen and cruel king. He [there passed] six years after the Hebrew manner,⁴ with fear of God and trembling, according to the saying of the Psalmist, in many watchings and prayers. An

¹ The present writer begs to deprecate criticism upon the badness of the English of his translations. It is impossible to translate Latin word for word into good English, and here the Latin is, in addition, very bad. He has preferred verbal fidelity to any attempt at elegance.

² *Britannis*, but *Britanniis* seems almost certainly meant.

³ The word seems to have been first written *venitre*. Fr. Hogan gives, in a footnote, a guarded adhesion to the opinion which identifies *Ben navem thabur indecha* with Kilpatrick on the Clyde. The meaning on the surface of *ventre* would be *white town* (*gwen, tre*). Is it possible that it has something to do with nearness to Paisley, generally identified with Vanduara or *White-water* (*gwen, dwfr*), from the White Cart? Assuming *ventre*, as is not improbable, to be a genitive, the passage might be arranged ‘which we have ascertained . . . to be a village of *Ventra*.’

⁴ The reference is to Ex. xxi. 2, etc.

hundred times in the day and an hundred times in the night used he to pray, willingly returning, and beginning to fear God and to love the Lord Almighty : for until that time he knew not the true God, but then the spirit grew hot within him. After many tribulations there, after hunger and thirst, after cold and nakedness, after feeding flocks, after many visits of the angelic Victorius sent unto him from God, after great virtues known unto almost all, after answers from God, of which I will show only one or two here for example's sake—*Thou fastest well, thou shalt soon go unto thine own fatherland*, and again : *Behold, thy ship is ready*, which was not at hand, but he had perchance miles to traverse¹ where he had never travelled ; after all these things, as we have learnt, which hardly any one can count, with unknown savage and heathen men, worshippers of many and false gods, already in the ship prepared for him, having forsaken the tyrant and heathen with [all] his works, and taken the heavenly and eternal God in holy company. . . .² save that of God, in the twenty-third year of his age he sailed over unto the Britains.³

‘2. Of his voyage with the Gentiles.

‘So [he was] carried about hither and thither in the sea for three days and as many nights, like

¹ *Ducenda*, but Fr. Hogan suggests *ducenta*, two hundred.

² *Excepto divino* ; there is evidently an hiatus here, and Fr. Hogan suggests, with great probability, some such words as ‘with no help.’

³ In the Plural, *i.e.*, the Roman provinces in Great Britain. In the Singular, *Britannia* sometimes means *Brittany*, but never in the Plural.

unto Jonah, along with the wicked, afterwards for twice ten and eight daily lights together, in the manner of Moses, but in another sense, wearied in the desert, the Gentiles murmuring like the Jews, ready to faint with hunger and thirst, [he] constrained by the captain [of the ship], tried, and besought that he would pray for them unto his God that they might not perish, moved with compassion upon the multitude, troubled in spirit, worthily crowned, glorified by God, he afforded abundance of meat [for himself along] with the multitude, from an herd of swine which God sent unto him, as from [a flock of] quails.¹ Wild honey also came unto him, as unto John of old, the flesh of swine, however, being substituted, as the utterly degraded Gentiles deserved, for the eating (*usu? esu*) of locusts. But that holy Patrick, tasting nothing of these meats, for it had been offered [to idols], remained unhurt, neither hungering nor thirsting. But the same night, while he slept, Satan vehemently tried him, fixing vast rocks upon him and already breaking his arms and legs, but when he had twice called aloud upon Elias, the sun arose upon him, and by its splendour drove away all the darkness of the night, and his strength was restored unto him.

‘3. Of the other captivity of Patrick.

‘And a second time after many years he endured captivity by strangers. Where, the first

¹ *Ex coturni*, but Fr. Hogan's suggestion that this is a mistake for *coturnica* or *coturnicibus* seems (from the previous comparison to Moses and the Israelites in the wilderness) overwhelmingly probable.

night, he earned to hear an answer from God, saying unto him : *Two Months shalt thou be with them, that is, with thine enemies.* And so it was. And upon the sixtieth day the Lord delivered him out of their hands, providing unto him and his comrades food and fire and dryness until upon the tenth day they came unto men.

‘ 4. Of his welcoming by his kinsfolk.

‘ And a second time, after a few years, as before, he rested in his own fatherland among his kinsfolk, who received him as a son, beseeching him that then at any rate, after so great tribulations and trials, he would never leave them again for the rest of his life. But he consented not. And there were shown unto him many visions. And he was thirty years of age, according to the [word of the] apostle unto a perfect man *et cetera*, to the fulness of Christ.¹ He went forth to visit and honour the Apostolic See, to the head also of all the Churches of the whole world, that now knowing the divine and holy mysteries whereunto God called him that he might learn, and understand, and fulfil them, and that he might preach and confer the grace of God among the nations outside, turning [them] unto the faith of Christ.

‘ 5. Of the finding of holy Geraianus² in the Gauls, and therefore he went forth no farther.

‘ When, therefore, he had sailed over the right-hand British sea, and started on the journey through the Gallic Alps, to pass through, as he proposed in his heart, even unto the uttermost, he

¹ *Sic !*

² So the MS., but surely *Germanus* must be meant.

found a certain most holy Bishop in the city of Alsiodorum,¹ the Prince Germanus, a most precious gift. With him he tarried no small while, according to that which Paul was at the feet of Gamaliel, and, in all subjection, and patience, and obedience, with all the desire of his soul, learned, loved, and kept knowledge, wisdom, and chastity, and all useful things not only of the spirit but also of the soul, with great fear and love of God, in goodness and singleness of heart, in strength² in body and in spirit.

‘6. Of his age when the angel visited him that he should come unto Ireland.

‘And when many times were passed there, as [say] some, xl., others, xxx. years, that right faithful elder called Victorius, who [*at this point begins the Book of Armagh, but the text here given is still that of the Würzburg Codex*] had said all things unto him when he was in captivity in Ireland, before that they were, visited him with many visions, saying unto him that the time is come that he should come and preach the Gospel among the fierce and savage tribes, to teach whom

¹ It is natural to suppose that this is meant for *Auxerre—Antissiodorum*—the See of Germanus, but Fr. Hogan brings forward, with great modesty, an ingenious suggestion that it may mean *Auch—Augusta Ausciorum*—and that Patrick’s consecrator, variously called Amathus, Amathorex, etc., etc., may have been one Armentarius, Bishop of Auch in the middle of the fifth century. The present writer cannot express his assent to this view, and inclines to Antissiodorum, but any suggestion coming from such a man as Fr. Hogan must be received with attention.

² *Vigore*. Probus reads *virgo*, and Fr. Hogan wishes to follow him.

God had sent him to fish ;¹ and there it was said unto him : *The sons and daughters of the wood of Foclada are calling thee, et cetera.*²

‘ 7. Of his return from the Gauls and the ordination of Palladius.

‘ When therefore a meet time commanded, God’s help companying with him and counsel companying, he entereth upon the way [already] begun, unto the Gospel work for which of old time work had been prepared, and he sent the elder Germanus with him,³ that is, Segitius the Priest, that he might have a witness and useful comrade, for neither yet was he ordained in the Episcopal grade by the holy lord Germanus. For the others were that Palladius archdeacon of Pope Celestine, of the city, who then held the Apostolic See, being forty-fifth from the holy Apostle Peter, that Palladius, to wit, had been ordained by the holy Pope, and sent to convert this island lying under Roman cold.⁴ But God hindered him, for no man can receive from earth unless it hath been given

¹ The Armagh Codex is much better—‘and fish with the Gospel net for the fierce,’ etc.

² *Sic.*

³ The Armagh reading seems infinitely preferable—‘unto the work for which he had of old time been prepared, that is, [the work] of the Gospel, and Germanus sent an elder with him, that is, Segitius the Priest, that he might have a comrade with him for a witness,’ etc.

⁴ The above sentence, as compared with the Armagh Codex, bears all the signs of having been written to dictation by a person who did not understand Latin. The Armagh gives, ‘For it was certain (*certe enim erat* for *cæteri enim erant*), etc.—Bishop of the city of Rome—ordained and sent—wintry cold (*brumali* for *romani*).’

him from heaven. For neither do the in-bringing (?) and uncouth easily receive his teaching, nor also did he wish to pass that long time in a land not his own :¹ but while he returned unto him who sent him, after passing the first sea, he ended his life in the coasts of the Picts.

‘ 8. Of the ordination of Patrick by Amathus, King and Bishop.

‘ When therefore he had heard of the death of holy Paladius² among the Britains, for the disciples of Paladius, Augustine, and Benedict, and the others, brought news in Curbia concerning his death, Patrick and they that were with him turned out of the way unto a certain marvellous man, a chief Bishop, King Amatho by name (*Amatho regem nomine? Amathorex by name*) who was dwelling in a place hard by ; and therefore holy Patrick, knowing the things which were to come unto him, received the episcopal step from King Amathus (*Amatho rege? Amathorex*) the holy Bishop. But also Auxilius and Sanninus and the other lower steps were ordained on the same day [as] holy Patrick. Then when blessings had been given and all had been perfect according to custom, and there had been sung [by] Patrick as specially and suitably this verse of the Psalmist : *Thou art a Priest for ever according to the order of Melchi,*

¹ Here again common-sense favours the Armagh—‘ For neither did these fierce (*feri* for *inferientes*) and uncouth men easily receive his teaching,’ etc. That *transegere* (both MSS.) is a slip of the pen for *transigere* may perhaps be assumed. Armagh gives Britons instead of Picts.

² With one *l* in this chapter.

—the venerable traveller taketh in the name of the Holy Trinity the ship prepared for him, and cometh even unto Britain, and omitting all circuitous routes of walking except the office of the common way¹ he reacheth our sea with a prosperous journey.'

The first emotion of the student on reading the above will probably be of a feeling of amazement, followed perchance by an emotion of vindictive joy, at the disappearance of his old enemy *Eboria*. Not only, however, does the Brussels Codex read *Curbia* where the Armagh gives *Ebmoria*, but we now learn that the scribe of the Armagh Codex himself has marked *Ebmoria* with the sign **Z**, indicating a doubtful reading. Can it be possible, after all, that this geographical will-o'-the-wisp, which has eluded the researches of so many students, consumed so much time, and caused so much temper, never existed at all except in a *lapsus calami*? It is not necessary here to enter upon the subject, or to touch the feast for the historical controversialist which *Curbia* will no doubt henceforth afford.

The passage of Tirechan's *Collectanea* which refers to the same period is as follows :—

'I have found four names written in the book of Patrick, with Bishop Ultan, Conchuburnensius—holy *Magonus*, which is clear; *Succetus*, which is *Patrick*; *Cothirthiacus*, for he served four houses of magi. And one of them, the magus whose

¹ There is here a clause which seems unintelligible in both Codices. Brussels—*Nemo itaque desideria querit Dominum*. Armagh—*Nemo enim dissidia querit Dominum*.

name was *Miliuc Mac Cuboin*, bought him, and he served him for seven years in all servitude and double labour, and he put him for a swineherd in the glens of the mountains. But at last the Angel of the Lord visited him in dreams upon the peaks of Mount *Scirte*, near Mount *Miss*. But when the speech of the Angel was finished : *Behold, thy ship is ready, arise and walk*,—and he went away from him into heaven,—he arose and walked, as the Angel of the Lord, Victor by name, said unto him. In the seventeenth year of his age was he captured, brought, sold into Ireland. In the twenty-second year [of his age] he was able to leave the work of the magus. Seven other years did he walk and voyage amid the waves, amid country places, and mountain glens through the Gauls and all Italy and in the islands which are in the Tyrrhenian sea, as he himself said in the memorial of his labours. And he was in one of the islands which is called *Aralanensis*,¹ for thirty years, as Bishop Ultan testifies unto me. But all the things which came to pass ye will find written in his full (*plana*) history. These are his latest wonders, finished and happily wrought in the fifth year of the reign of Loiguire m Neill. Now, from the passion of Christ unto the death of Patrick are reckoned four hundred and thirty-six² years. And Loiguire reigned two or five years after the death of Patrick. And the time of all his reign was thirty-six years, as we think.'

¹ Possibly meant for *Arles*—*Arelatensis*.

² Perhaps not *six* but *three*.

Before proceeding to compare these narratives with what we are told by Patrick himself, it is as well to take a glance at the known chronology of Germanus of Auxerre. He was consecrated to the See of Auxerre on July 7, 418, and died at Ravenna on July 31, 448, having held his See thirty years and twenty-five days. The statement of Maccumachtheni, that Patrick studied under him for forty or thirty years, may therefore be at once dismissed, for the career of Germanus before becoming a Bishop was not that of a teacher. Fr. Hogan appears to consider that the *Avalanensis* of Tirechan is a mistake for *Alsiodorensis*, and thus identifying the sojourns spoken of by Maccumachtheni and Tirechan respectively, ingeniously suggests for the 'xxx.' of the latter the conjectural emendation 'xx.' If the chronology of Tirechan be accepted with this emendation, Patrick must have been about forty-nine years of age at the time of his coming to Ireland. Now, he himself says (as will appear presently) that before his consecration some of his elders found against him, after thirty years, a fault which he had committed when he was about fifteen years of age. Consequently, he was then at least forty-five. These statements are really harmonious, for 'after thirty years' may well be a round way of stating a number somewhat above thirty; and, on the other hand, it is clear that Tirechan does not reckon whole periods of twelve months each when he speaks of years, and probably his rows of x's are also round numbers. To go farther than this, here, would be to plunge into the vortex of the chrono-

logical controversy. It will therefore suffice to point out the entire inconsistency of the statements here made by Tirechan with that made by him and Maccumachtheni elsewhere, to the effect that Patrick attained the age of 120 years. That these authors laboured under the error of believing that the Passion of Christ took place in the year A.D. 34, may be assumed as a moral certainty ; consequently they must be understood to place the death of M'Calphurn about A.D. 470. If he was 120 years old at that time, he must have been born about 350, and arrived in Ireland about the close of the Fourth Century—some twenty years before the consecration of Germanus, under whom he is said to have previously studied for so many years. The fact is, that the age of 120, whether based on a copyist's slip of the pen or upon anything else, has become one of the imaginary features by which a later age endeavoured to fix upon the career of M'Calphurn a variety of circumstances identical with those of the life of Moses, and which is here found in juxtaposition, and glaring contradiction, with the remains of a tradition earlier and truer, albeit probably somewhat corrupted. The same remark applies to the alleged mission of Patrick by Pope Celestine. That Pope died August 1, 432. If, therefore, Patrick commenced his studies under Germanus in the very year of the latter's consecration (which is highly improbable), and remained with him, not forty, nor thirty, nor even twenty, but only fifteen years, he must have been there beyond the time of that Pope's death. The Celestine idea is therefore hopelessly inconsistent

with the chronology of both Maccumachtheni and Tirechan, and they no more allude to it than Patrick does himself.¹

Let the reader now turn from these, which seem the earliest records of Patrick M'Calphurn now known, of a later period than his own, and see what he himself says of the same part of his career.

The *Confession* of Patrick is a composition instinct with a beauty so noble and so touching, that for any man to read it without a certain amount of emotion would be a proof of his own low intellectual organism. But this work, in the truest sense sublime, presents the gravest difficulties to the cold eye of merely historical criticism. It is true that the grounds upon which its authenticity

¹ The penultimate paragraph of the *Collectanea*, before the *Addimenta* (page 89 of the edition before us) is as follows :—‘ In the thirteenth year of the Emperor Teothasius (*sic*) by Celestine the Bishop, the Pope of Rome, is a Bishop Patrick sent (*Patricius episcopus mittitur*) for the teaching of the Scots. This Celestine was the forty-seventh Bishop from the Apostle Peter in the city of Rome. Bishop Paladius is sent first, who was called Patrick by another name, who suffered martyrdom among the Scots, as the holy elders hand down. Then Patrick the second is sent by an angel of God, named Victor, *and by Pope Celestine*, in whom all Ireland believed, who baptised nearly all of her.’ It is clear that contradictories cannot both express the opinion of Tirechan, and either this or the body of the work must be discredited. On several grounds the present writer cannot consider that the above isolated and contradictory paragraph can be anything but a later interpolation ; he thinks it possible, however, that it may be itself in a corrupt form, and that the italicised words ‘*and by Pope Celestine*’ have been inserted either by a slip of the pen or by a wilful emendation on the part of the scribe, the general tone of the passage being to draw a distinction between the first Patrick, who was sent by man and failed, and the second Patrick, who was sent by an Angel of God and succeeded.

has been questioned are so flimsy as to be almost absurd, and no hesitation can be felt in accepting the all but universal recognition of its genuineness on the part of the learned. It is evident therefore that this work (together with such historical statements as occur in the equally undoubtedly genuine *Epistle* to the subjects of Coroticus) must be taken as the absolute standard of truth in any biography of this Patrick. The same supernatural importance which he attaches to his dreams may not be ascribed to them ; but of his perfect honesty in stating them, and consequently of the fact of their occurrence, there can be no doubt. Whatever statement is to be found in the *Confession* and in the *Epistle* is true ; whatever statement is opposed to them is false, at least as relating to M'Calphurn ; whatever statement is neither in nor opposed to them must be examined on other grounds. It is in the text of the *Confession* itself that the difficulties commence. The number of variants, to begin with, is evident by glancing at a page of Villanueva's edition ; and many of them are very serious. If, however, even this were cleared away, the language itself is very hard to understand. M'Calphurn does not seem to have been a man of high literary culture ; he describes himself (*Con.* i. 1) as *rusticissimus*, and, in his *Epistle* to the subjects of Coroticus (1), the genuineness of which is as certain as that of the *Confession*, distinctly states that he was *indoctus*. He says (*Con.* i. 3.) that the habitual use of another language had impaired his facility in Latin, such as it was. The language of his writings simply bears out this

description. It becomes sometimes a matter of little better than guess-work to make out what was the idea which he wished to express. Hereby also arises the doubt whether the rules of interpretation which are applicable to a classical composition can be safely used to language of this sort. Even, however, if the text of the *Confession* were absolutely certain and couched in the most lucid Latinity, its form would be very difficult. The intention of the author seems to have been to write a kind of autobiography, somewhat in the style of Augustine, in which the dealings of God with him should be made the subject of thankful acknowledgment, as a debt of gratitude on his own part as well as a source of edification to others. This intention is more or less perfectly preserved in the opening paragraph of the First Chapter, and throughout the whole of the Second. In the Third Chapter the autobiographical style is largely departed from, and the tone becomes declamatory when speaking of the falseness of the friend by whom he was betrayed. The Fourth and Fifth Chapters are purely declamatory, and only contain historical matter incidentally. The following is a literal translation of the whole of the autobiographical part, including the Third Chapter :—

‘I.—1. I, Patrick, that most clownish sinner (*peccator rusticissimus*), and least of all the faithful, and most contemptible among multitudes, had for a father the Deacon Calpornius, the son of the late Priest Potitus : who was of the village of Ben-aven Tabernæ, for he had the farm [of Enon] near by, where I fell into captivity. I was then nearly

sixteen years of age. For I knew not the true God ; and I was brought into Ireland in captivity, with so many thousand men, according to our deserts ; for we fell away from God, and kept not His commandments, and were disobedient unto our Priests (*sacerdotibus*), who warned [us for] our salvation : and the Lord brought upon us the wrath of His indignation, and scattered us among many nations, even unto the end of the earth, where now my littleness is seen to be among aliens. And there the Lord opened the understanding of the unbelief of mine heart, that even late as it was I might call to mind mine offences, and turn me with all mine heart unto my Lord, Who looked upon my lowliness, and had compassion upon my youth and mine ignorance, [and] kept me, before I knew Him, and before I tasted or distinguished between the good and the evil, and admonished me, and comforted me, as a father [comforteth] his son.'

The style then becomes declamatory, containing the celebrated passage in the form of a Profession of Faith, commonly known as the Creed of St. Patrick. With the beginning of the Second Chapter, however, the autobiographical matter is gradually resumed—

'II.—6. And so it behoveth to distinguish those things which are of loyalty toward the Trinity (*quæ fidei Trinitatis sunt*), and without blame of danger to make known the gift of God, and His eternal consolation, and without fear to spread God's name faithfully everywhere, and to leave [the same] even after my death unto my brethren

and sons, whom I have baptized in the Lord, so many thousand men—albeit I was not worthy, nor such an one that the Lord should grant this unto His servant, and give him so great a grace, after griefs of such burden, after captivity, after many years in that nation, which [thing] I never once hoped for in my youth nor thought of. But after I came to Ireland I fed flocks every day, and I prayed often in the day, and more and more did the love of God come to me, and the fear of Him and faith increased, and the Spirit increased, so that in one day I would make as many as an hundred prayers, and in the night well nigh likewise : and I abode even in the woods and in the mountain, and I was roused up to prayer before the light, in snow, in frost, in rain, and I felt no evil, neither was there any sloth in me, [such] as I see now : for then the Spirit glowed in me. And there certainly one night in sleep I heard a voice saying unto me : Thou fastest well, [thou art] soon about to go to thy fatherland. And a second time after a very little while I heard an answer saying unto me : Behold, thy ship is ready. And it was not near, but perchance it was two hundred miles away, and I had never been there neither did I know any man there.

‘ 7. And then afterwards I turned to fly : and I left the man with whom I had been for six years : and in the strength of God, Who directed my faith, I came unto Benum :¹ and I feared nothing, until I came unto that ship. And as soon as I came unto her, she went forward from her place,

¹ Villanueva understands the Boyne to be meant.

and I spake that I might have whence to voyage.¹ But it displeased the Captain, and he answered sharply with anger : Thou needest not to seek to go with us. And when I heard these words, I parted from them, to come unto the hut where I was lodging : and on the way I began to pray : and before I finished the prayer, I heard one of them cry lustily after me : Come quick, for these men call thee : and forthwith I returned unto them : and they began to say unto me : Come, for we receive thee of faith,² and make friendship with us as thou shalt will. And in that day I had to arise into their ship for God's sake. Nevertheless, I hoped [not] of them that they would say unto me : Come in Christ's faith : for they were Gentiles ; and this I obtained with them ; and straightway we set forth on the voyage.

' 8. And after three days we landed ; and we travelled through a desert for seven-and-twenty days. But food and drink failed us, and famine waxed strong upon us. And another day the Captain began to say unto me : What is it, O thou Christian ? Thou sayest, thy God is great and almighty ; why therefore canst thou not pray for us ? Pray for us, for we are imperilled with hunger, for it is hardly that we should ever see a man. But I said unto them openly : Turn ye with all your heart unto the Lord my God, for nothing is impossible with Him, that He send us

¹ The meaning seems to be that he could not pay for his passage. He perhaps told them that he had relations in Britain who would pay for him on his arrival.

² *Ex fide*, viz., in trust on his promise of future payment.

food into our way this day, until ye be filled, for He hath abundance everywhere. Therefore by God's help, it was so.

‘Behold, an herd of swine came before our eyes in the way, and they killed many of them : and there they abode two nights well refreshed, and were relieved with their flesh, for many of them failed and were left half-dead beside the way. And after this they rendered the highest thanks to God, and I was made honourable in their eyes.

‘9. But from that day they had food in abundance : moreover they found wild honey, and brought a portion unto me, and one of them said : This hath been offered¹—Thanks be to God, thenceforth I tasted nothing. But the same night I was sleeping, and Satan vehemently tried me, so that I shall remember it as long as I am in this body. For there fell upon me as it were an huge rock, and it took away the strength from all my limbs. But whence it came, I know not, that I should call in spirit upon Elias.² And with that I saw the sun rise in the sky ; and while I cried, Elias, Elias, with all my strength, behold, the

¹ *i.e.*, to idols.

² There are three opinions as to this exclamation ; (1) that he called on the Prophet Elias, as given here, in *Maccumachtheni*, and in all the later lives but two ; (2) that he exclaimed, ‘ My God ! ’ in Hebrew (‘ *Eli* ’) as given in two of the later lives, a view supported on the ground that *El* is a title used in the *Hymn of Hilary to Christ*, which is perhaps older than Patrick’s time, and that this cry here is specially attributed to the Spirit of Christ, Who is recorded in the Gospels to have uttered this very ejaculation : (3) founded on the context, that M’Calphurn invoked the sun (*Helios*) in Greek. This last idea, at any rate, seems hard to reconcile with the noble passage upon the worship of the sun with which the last paragraph of the *Confession* opens.

brightness of the sun fell upon me and straightway took away all the heaviness from me. And I believe that I was holpen by my Christ, and that His Spirit then cried out for me : but I hope that it will be so in the day of my distress, as the Lord witnesseth in the Gospel : In that day, saith He, it is not ye that speak but the Spirit of your Father Which speaketh in you. But He provided food and fire for us in our journey, and dryness every day, until upon the fourteenth day we came unto men : as I have mentioned above, we journeyed through the desert for eight-and-twenty days, and that night we all came [unto men] we had no food [left].

‘III.—10. And a second time, after many years,¹ I fell again into captivity ; and the first night I abode with them. But I heard an answer from God, saying unto me : Two months shalt thou be with them. And it was so. Upon that sixtieth night, therefore, did the Lord deliver me out of their hands. A second time,² after a few years, I was in the Britains with my kinsfolk,³ who re-

¹ Villanueva prints a ‘not’ in brackets () before ‘many,’ but this appears to be merely a fancy emendation. It is not only opposed to the narrative, which requires us to divide a period of some twenty-three years between the period mentioned here and that of a ‘few’ years mentioned just after, but also to the corresponding passage in *Maccumachtheni*, which seems to be a quotation.

² This seems to imply that he had returned there from captivity before.

³ *Parentes*. This is hardly ever used, at least in classical Latin, like the French *parent*, to indicate any relation except in the direct ascending line. Yet it seems doubtful whether his grandparents are meant, considering his own age. It seems clearly implied that they were not his actual parents. He uses the word again (iv. 19.) writing at the very close of life and speaking of living persons.

ceived me as a son, and sincerely besought me, that now at any rate after so great tribulations which I bare, I would never leave them. And there certainly I saw in a night vision a man coming as it were from Ireland, Victricius by name, with countless epistles ; and he gave one of them unto me ; and thereupon (*continenter*) I read the beginning of the Epistle : The Voice of the Irish. And when I read aloud (*recitabam*) the beginning of the Epistle, I thought at that very moment I heard the voices of them that were near the wood Foclut, which is hard by the Western Sea. And thus they called out, as it were with one mouth : We beseech thee, holy lad,¹ come and walk still among us. And I was greatly pricked in the heart, and could read no more : and so I awoke. Thanks be to God that, after very many years, the Lord hath granted unto them according to their cry.

‘ 11. And another night, I know not, God knoweth, whether it were in me or beside me, I heard some singing by the spirit inside me, in very learned (*peritissimus*) words, and I knew not who they were whom I heard, and I could not understand except at the end of the prayer he said thus : He who gave his life for thee. And so I woke up. And a second time I heard him praying in me ; and he was as it were inside my body : and I heard above me, that is, above mine inner man,

¹ *Puer*. This must mean that he had been a lad when they had seen him last, for the term is not applicable after ‘ many years,’ and then ‘ a few years ’ more after the age of twenty-two.

and there he was praying vehemently with groanings. And at these things I was astonished, and marvelled, and thought who it could be that was praying in me. But at the end of the prayer, he said that he was the Spirit.¹ And I remembered the Apostle saying : The Spirit helpeth the infirmity of our prayer ; for we know not what we should pray for ; but the Spirit Itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered, which I cannot express in words. And again : The Lord is our advocate, and He maketh intercession for us. And when I was tempted by some of my elders, who came, on account of my sins, against my toilful Episcopate, sometimes in that day I was vehemently inclined, to fall here and for ever. But the Lord spared the convert and pilgrim for His Name's sake, and came to help me very mercifully in that treading under foot, [so] I came not badly into disgrace and shame. I pray God that the occasion be not imputed unto them for sin. For after thirty years they found a thing against me which I had confessed before I was a Deacon.

‘ 12. On account of anxiety I whispered with a sad heart to my dearest friend the things which I had done in my boyhood one day, yea, in one hour, for I was not yet strong. I know not, God knoweth, if I was then fifteen years of age, and I did not believe in one² God from mine infancy ;

¹It is perhaps hardly worth while to mention the ridiculous variant of *episcopum* for *spiritum*, probably arising from the mistake of some antient blunderer between *epm* and *spm*.

²Or, the living God.

but I remained in death and in unbelief, until I was greatly chastened; and in truth I was brought low with hunger and nakedness; and day by day I went forth against my will in Ireland until I all but fainted. But this rather was well for me; for by this I was amended by the Lord, and he fitted me to be this day what once was far from me, that I should have cares or labour for the salvation of others, when I was not thinking even about myself, Wherefore in that day wherein I was rebuked by them whom I have mentioned above, that night in a night vision I saw written against my face, *Without honour*. And with that I heard an answer from God saying unto me: We have looked ill upon the face of ——— (plainly designated by name).¹ Neither did He say thus: Thou hast looked ill, but, We have looked ill, as if He joined Himself there, as He said: He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of Mine eye. Wherefore I give thanks unto Him Who hath strengthened me in all things, so that He hindered me not from my

¹ Who this person was, whose name Patrick conceals, does not seem very clear. At one time the present writer believed that it must be meant to indicate Palladius, whose labours had met with such scant blessing from God or acceptance from men, but whom Patrick was almost certain to have regarded with great tenderness, delicacy, and respect, so as to be unwilling to allude openly to his failure. On repeated consideration, however, he is inclined to think that the person indicated must be the friend by whom Patrick had been betrayed; that Patrick took the 'we' to mean God Almighty and himself, and regarded the dream as an indication of the Divine displeasure at the way in which he had been publicly held up to disgrace; and that he conceals the name for fear of getting the offender into trouble, as he afterwards says, 'Neither shall it arise from me that he be beaten.'

going forth, which I had appointed, and for my work also, which I had learned from my Christ ; but the more, from that, I felt in me no little strength, and my faith hath been approved before God and man.

‘ 13. Whence I say boldly, my conscience reproveth me not. I have God for my Witness that I have not lied in the things which I have told : but I grieve rather for my dearest friend, why we deserved to have such an answer, unto whom I entrusted even my soul. And I heard from some of my brethren before that defence,¹ because I myself was not present [on the occasion], neither was I [dwelling] in the Britains [at the time], neither shall it arise from me, that he also should be beaten in my absence on my account. He with his own mouth had said : Behold, thou art to be promoted unto the step of the Episcopate, whereof I was not worthy. But whence came it unto him afterwards to expose publicly against me before all, good and bad, what he had before forgiven willingly and gladly ? It is the Lord Who is greater than all. I say enough. But nevertheless I ought not to hide the gift of God which He granted unto me in in the land of my captivity. For then did I vehemently seek Him, and there did I find Him, and He kept me from all iniquities by His indwelling Spirit. Who hath wrought in me even unto this day. But the Lord knoweth, if I had

¹ *Defensionem*. In classical Latin this means a *defence*, as translated, but Villanueva inclines to the opinion that it had already obtained in Gaul the sense of the modern French *defense*,—viz. : ‘ a prohibition,’ and proposes here to take it so.

heard these things from a man, perchance I had been silent for the love of Christ.

‘ 14. Whence I will give unwearied thanks unto my God, Who kept me faithful in the day of my temptation, so that this day I confidently offer sacrifice unto Him, and consecrate my soul as a living victim unto my Lord, Who hath saved me from all my straits, that I may say unto him : Who am I, Lord ? And what are my prayers, O Thou Who hast revealed unto me so much [of Thy] Divine [glory] ? So that this day I should exalt and magnify Thy Name in what place soever I be ; and not only in things favourable, but also in tribulations ; that whatsoever befalleth me, be it good, be it evil, I am equally bound to accept it, and always to give thanks to God, Who hath shown unto me that I should never cease to believe that He is beyond all doubt, and Who will have heard me ; that I also in [these] last days should dare to take in hand this work so godly and so wondrous, so that I should imitate them whom the Lord foretold of old time, that they should preach His Gospel for a testimony unto all nations before the end of the world. Which is fulfilled, even as we have seen. Behold, we are witnesses that the Gospel has been preached everywhere, [in a place] beyond which there is no man.’

In comparing the above unaffected narrative with the statements of its author’s earliest biographers, it is peculiarly interesting to observe in the latter the development of the historical matter in a middle stage, between his own simple account

on the one hand, and the full-blown romances of the later writers on the other. The very name of Calphurn's domicile is not a bad specimen of the process. '*Benaven Taberniæ*,' says Patrick. These two simple words, which are generally admitted to mean *River-head Tavern*, seem to be the origin of the four—'*Ban navem thabur indecha*'—in Maccumachtheni; and the two central of these (*navem thabur*), in their turn, appear to be the origin of the curious name in the first line of the hymn ascribed to Fiacc—

'Patrick was born in *Nemthur*.'

The most interesting instance is perhaps that of the dream-visitant. Whether the 'Angel Victor' ever had any other origin than the 'man coming, as it were, from Ireland, Victricius by name,' is a question which it is unnecessary here to discuss; that they became identified in later belief is certain. In Maccumachtheni the identification appears in an imperfect stage. When Patrick says that he dreamt that he 'saw in a night vision a man coming, as it were, from Ireland, Victricius by name,' the natural meaning is that this Victricius of whom he dreamt was a particular man whom he had known in Ireland, probably a native Christian; that such were by no means very few, is evident from the fact—among others—that Palladius was sent as a Bishop for them,—*ad Scotos in Christum credentes*. In Maccumachtheni the mere words, 'heard in sleep,' as to his fasting well, and so on, are transferred into visitations by Victoricus, with a statement that these visitations were frequent, both at that time and at that of the dream about

the Epistles from the Irish. The personage himself is in a state of transformation, as if Maccumachtheni were uncertain whether to make him the same person as the 'Angel Victor' of the latter part of his own narrative, or not. He accordingly designates him by terms of either meaning—'the angelic Victoricus sent to him from God,' and 'that right faithful elder called Victoricus, who had said all things unto him when he was in captivity in Ireland, before that they were.' *Elder* is certainly an hardly consistent designation for an angel, a being exempted by his very nature from experiencing the effects of time.

Perhaps the most singular discrepancy between Patrick and his biographer is one in connection with the dream about this man Victricius and the epistles. Patrick says it took place in the Britains—'I was in the Britains with my kinsfolk . . . , and there certainly I saw,' etc. Maccumachtheni gives him the lie direct—'When many times were passed there [at Alsiodorum] . . . Victoricus . . . visited him, saying,' etc., and accordingly he starts and comes over, 'even unto Britain,' or, as the Armagh text has it, 'the Britains.' The reason of a course on the part of Maccumachtheni so extraordinary as flatly contradicting Patrick himself, is hard to explain, unless upon the ground of some legend having already arisen to which he attached more importance than to the plain evidence of his own senses.

Another remarkable feature is the appearance of the Mosaic comparison with regard to the journey in the desert. This not only appears in the

grotesque comparison between pigs and quails, with its grim explanation by the degradation of the Gentiles beneath Israelites, but in the violent attempt to parallelize Patrick's abstention with the fast of Moses upon Mount Sinai : that it was only the honey he abstained from is plain enough from his own words, as well as from the obvious fact that if he had not eaten the pork (doubtless wretchedly cooked), he would not have had the night-mare which made such an impression upon him.

It is greatly to be regretted that the line of writing into which Patrick has fallen affords us so very little information as to his career, between his escape from Ireland and his return as her Apostle. It appears evident that he was out of the Britains for some years, but it does not clearly appear whether this absence was before or after his second captivity, or both. Maccumachtheni distinctly states that he went from Ireland to the Britains in the ship, and the same may be implied from M'Calphurn's own expression, that at a later period he had returned home to his relations 'a second time.' Maccumachtheni also clearly implies that he did not go abroad until after the second captivity. If this be so, the period of his foreign residence is described by Patrick himself as comprised within 'a few years,' which leaves no time for the protracted study under Germanus. 'Few' can hardly mean more than three or four. As to the place of his foreign residence, it will be observed that Maccumachtheni says that he started to go to Italy, but never got farther than Alsiodorum; Tirechan, on the contrary, gives us an

early indication of those alleged travels about the Mediterranean of which the later lives contain so much. That Patrick was actually in Gaul, and was on friendly terms with ecclesiastics there, is sufficiently plain from the *Confession*, iv. 19. 'I am able, if I would, to leave [the hand-maidens of the Lord in Ireland], and to go unto the Britains, yea, (?) I would be most cheerfully ready to go, as unto my fatherland and kinsfolk : and not that only, but even unto the Gauls, to visit my brethren, to see the face of the Saints of my Lord : the Lord knoweth that I greatly desired it.' That he sat at the feet of Germanus is all the more probable because that Saint was much occupied in the ecclesiastical affairs of Britain, whither he was first sent by Pope Celestine in 429. At what period Patrick mentioned his youthful error to his dishonourable friend does not appear. What is clear is that there had already been some mention between them of Patrick's promotion to the Episcopate, before this friend, during Patrick's absence from Britain, there divulged his confidence. In consequence of this, some of his elders came and cast his fault in his teeth, to dissuade him from taking the Episcopate, and thereupon he had the dream about the man unnamed. But where did these elders come from, and to ? The two dreams regarding Victricius and the Spirit praying within are stated by Patrick to have taken place in Britain, and they seem to have been what gave him the idea of going to Ireland. Are we to understand that he thereupon confidentially consulted his friend, who encouraged him in the idea

of seeking the position of a missionary Bishop, and and that he thereupon went abroad again (Query—to seek Germanus' sanction?) and returned for consecration,¹ to find his fault betrayed to those who came to it? Such questions form some of the most interesting points of what has become the Patrician controversy. It need only be observed here, in the first place, that if Patrick only went abroad after his second captivity, a 'few' years before his promotion to the Episcopate, he must have been more than thirty, the age assigned him by Maccumachtheni, since he was, on his own showing, at least forty-five at his consecration. He was twenty-two at the time of his escape from his first captivity, and this leaves ample time for the 'many years' which passed before the second. In the second place, there are only three courses which can be taken with the Amathus²-Curbia-or-Ebmoria story; it must either be adapted to M'Calphurn's *Confession*, or fixed, *mutatis mutandis*, upon somebody else, or abandoned as a pure fiction.

It will be seen that the tendency of this new matter is, on the one hand, to support the theory of the Bollandists, to the effect that Patrick's death took place a good deal earlier than the date

¹ That M'Calphurn's consecration took place in Britain is the opinion of the Rev. J. F. Shearman (*Loca Patriciana*, 447), but though this is perhaps the most natural inference from the language of the *Confession*, it can hardly be regarded as the only possible one.

² The custom of calling this (possibly fabulous) person *Amathorex* is so well established that the writer feels some trepidation in departing from it, but the *rex* appears as a title separate from the name in both the Armagh and the Brussels Codices.

commonly assigned to it. They, of course, reject the age of 120, and, by supposing the c. in cxxxii. (which occupies the place of cxx. in some texts) to be a blunder for l., suggest the age of 82. If so, and he died about 470, he must have gone to Ireland some time after 433. It may, however, be suggested that if it is to be allowed to turn c. conjecturally into l. in cxxxii., it is equally easy to do so in the much better supported cxx., and read lxx. This would make Patrick just as old as the century, and consequently send him to Ireland after 455. It is true that an argument to imply a *very* long residence in Ireland has been found in the expression of the Epistle—‘an holy Priest whom I have taught from infancy,’ but those who adduce this argument fail to observe that Patrick does not say *where* he taught him, and it is indeed by no means improbable, since the Priest in question was selected to be sent upon a particularly ticklish mission into Britain, that he was a Briton trained by Patrick from any period after the first captivity, and who had accompanied him to Ireland—Isernius, perhaps. These texts are also generally favourable to the sort of chronology as to the date of Patrick’s arrival in Ireland, indicated by the late Dr. Todd in his *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*. They must prove in any case an heavy, if not a fatal blow, to the school who credit M’Calphurn with a mission from Pope Celestine.

This publication is perhaps, with the single exception of Villanueva’s edition of the *Epistle* and the *Confession*, the most valuable which has ever appeared upon the subject upon which it casts

so much light. It is itself a model of the way in which such work ought to be done. And henceforth nothing with any pretensions to value can be written concerning the Apostle of Ireland without consulting it.

THE SCOTTISH PEERAGE.

The Peerage of Scotland. By SIR ROBERT DOUGLAS of Glenbervie, Bart. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected by JOHN PHILIP WOOD, Esq. Edinburgh : 1813.

A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage. By SIR BERNARD BURKE, C.B., LL.D., Ulster King of Arms. Forty-seventh Edition. London : 1885.

ONE of the minor although characteristic features of the Union of 1707, was to select a particular group of Scotsmen belonging to the more educated and influential class, and condemn them to an almost entire deprivation of any political rights. This group consisted of the 153 Scotch Peers. The Parliament in which their creations had been specially framed to secure them perpetual hereditary seats was abolished. But because they were Peers they were carefully excluded from exercising the rights to which they might have been entitled if other citizens, by voting for Members of the House of Commons, or being eligible to be chosen as such themselves. In honour of the Union itself they were, by a new enactment, specially deprived of the power they had hitherto enjoyed of voting or being elected as

Commoners for places outside Scotland.¹ Common justice certainly required that if the Unity-of-the-kingdom principle upon which this last piece of legislation was based, were to be really carried out, they should be admitted to the House of Lords at Westminster on the same footing as the English Peers. But they were Scotsmen, or were to be so treated, and therefore it was not done. They were still farther specially prohibited from taking social precedence, even in their own country, over any English Peer of the same degree, whatever the respective dates of creation. The only political right they were henceforth allowed to enjoy was that of electing sixteen representatives—about one-tenth of their whole number—to sit in the House of Lords for each Parliament.² Under these circumstances, the Scotch Peerage cannot be regarded as a body representing political power, any more than Edinburgh Castle can be called a place of military strength. They have both reached the point of being almost purely historical monuments. From the historical point of view the Peerage as well as the fortress is a very interesting structure. The very fact that a Scotch Peerage cannot have been created later than 1707 invests it at once

¹ The Earl of Dysart and the Lord Fairfax were actually the members for Suffolk and Yorkshire, and were obliged to relinquish their seats.

² The number of Scotch Peerages which have disappeared, and the number of others which have received the addition of Peerages of Great Britain or of the United Kingdom, will soon render this election unnecessary, and the occasional ceremony at Holyrood, whose national character is its only merit, will take place no more for ever.

with peculiar dignity among a class of honours where antiquity is one of the most regarded and esteemed features. Nor need a Scotchman admit that in regard to the historic races represented, or the historic facts commemorated, in and by it, the Peerage of his own country will suffer by comparison with the similar group of families in any other land.

There is, however, at least one respect in which the Peerage of Scotland differs widely from the antient citadel of her metropolis. It is a monument which is rapidly crumbling away. At the time of the Union there appeared on the Roll 153 Peerages. To these have since been added 11; that is to say, it has been shown to the satisfaction of the authority concerned that 11 more Peerages were then in existence than were known at the time.¹ The total number of Scottish Peerages, therefore, as far as is now known which existed on May 1, 1707, was 164. Of these, all that now remain are represented by 81 individuals, being less than half in number. There were 10 Duchies, to which was added in 1714 the Royal Duchy of Rothesay, but Gordon and Douglas have disappeared, and Queensberry was conjoined with Buccleuch in 1810 leaving 8. There were three Marquessates, to which Huntly and Queensberry have been added, but Annandale—representing the

¹ Among the eleven we do not reckon the male Earldom of Mar, discovered by the House of Lords in 1875 to have been created by Queen Mary on July 29, 1565. Whatever it is, it is indissolubly united to the Earldom of Kellie, and therefore a *quantité négligéable* for analytical purposes.

great Border clan of the Johnstones—is dormant if not extinct. The Earls were the most numerous, being 75, and Lindsay was added in 1878, but 9 have coalesced with others, and 24 have disappeared, leaving only 43. Time has been hardest upon the Viscounties; these were 17, and there remain only 5. Of Baronies, 48 were recognized at the Union, and 7 have been added, making 55 in all; but 5 have become conjoined with other Peerages, and 28 have disappeared, leaving only 22. At this rate, it may be supposed that in another couple of centuries no such thing as a Scotch Peer will be in existence. But this is hardly probable. There are some titles which are very old and are transmissible by women, and where the descendants of the original holders are consequently so numerous that their entire extinction seems almost impossible. Whether there will then be an House of Lords is quite a different question, and indeed, to a Scotch Peer, as such, it would not much matter. What we mean is that the series of persons entitled to such honours as the Earldoms of Mar or Sutherland is very unlikely to come to end. But they will be brought down to an exceedingly small group. The Scottish Peerage will have been reduced from the condition of Edinburgh Castle to that of the Roman Wall.

It seems strange, in discussing what is after all a National Institution, to have to ask what is the nationality of the persons who compose it. But Scotch Peers are by no means all Scotchmen. Only three Scotch Peerages, indeed, seem to have been created for English families as so many of the

Irish Peerages were created, viz., simply as a means of giving an Englishman 'an handle to his name' without a seat in the House of Lords at Westminster.¹ One of these is the earliest Scotch Viscounty, that of Falkland, bestowed by James VI. upon the English family of Cary, in 1620. The second is the Barony of Fairfax, created by Charles I. in 1627 in favour of the old Yorkshire family of that name. The Lords Fairfax furnished the eminent generals upon the Republican side during the Great Rebellion, but began to settle in Virginia more than a century ago, and were allied to General Washington. His present Lordship is a citizen of the United States. The third case is that of the Viscounty of Dunblane, conferred by Charles II. in 1673 upon his notorious minister Danby, who, however, was made an English Peer six months afterwards, and having changed with the Revolution, secured the Duchy of Leeds in 1694. The present Duke represents him directly. Almost as alien as these is the family of the Earls of Orkney, ennobled as such by William III. in 1696. It is true that they are an offshoot of the Ducal House of Hamilton, who may be said to

¹ There is a story of George III. which is not perhaps so well known as to make it unworthy of repetition. A certain officer having greatly distinguished himself, was sent for by the King, who told him he desired to confer upon him some mark of his favour, and wished to know from him of something which would really gratify him. The officer, after a short reflection, said that his mother was a very old woman, and lived at Windsor, and that he should feel greatly obliged if His Majesty would allow her to drive into the reserved parts of Windsor Park. The King hummed and ha'd, talked of the inconvenience of creating precedents, etc., etc., and at last said, 'but I'll make *you* an Irish Peer, if you like.'

have a remote mediæval connection with Orkney, but as Peers they have always been and remain purely and exclusively Irishmen. Even as Hamiltons they were entirely unconnected with Orkney, and it is most singular to find a repetition of the venerable and historic title first bestowed by King Harald Harfagri, at the Norwegian conquest of the Orkneys, soon after A.D. 872, upon Rognvald, Earl of Moeri—gloriously borne by these Princes for nearly four centuries—hallowed by the martyrdom of St. Magnus and the devotion of St. Rognvald—handed on through the lines of Angus, Stratherne, and St. Clair—resigned to the Crown of Scotland by the still living family of St. Clair, with the Orkneys themselves, in 1469—conferred as a Duchy upon Bothwell by Queen Mary in view of their marriage—now held, along with a Viscounty of Kirkwall, by a family of origin totally alien to Orkney, and connected only with Tipperary. It is no want of respect either for the great House of Hamilton or for the noble family of which we are speaking, to suspect that the intense hatred of William III. for Scotland—that hatred which found two of its sweetest moments in arranging the massacres of Glencoe and of Darien—sought and found a childish indulgence in the invention of this later Peerage.

Upon these follow several Peerages belonging to families which were once Scotch, but have now become so entirely foreign as to be not only held by aliens but by persons who have no property in Scotland. It is painful to have to begin this list—through no want of will in the matter on their

part—with the names of the Erskines, Earls of Mar; of the Drummonds, Earls of Perth and Melfort; and of the Dalzells, Earls of Carnwath, all among the most ancient and most historical of Scotch families, and the first bearing a title of unknown antiquity—but all once more or less victims of Hanoverian spite. The sympathy with which their Lordships are regarded in Scotland is probably neither unknown to nor unappreciated by them. The Earldom of Dysart belongs to the English family of Tollemache, although the original holder (creation, 1643) was a son of the parish minister of Dysart. His daughter was the famous Countess of Dysart, Duchess of Lauderdale, wife of the still more famous Duke of Lauderdale, the Commissioner of Charles II. The beautiful family mansion, Ham House close to Richmond, was built by this Duke, and remains untouched to this day, even to the furniture of the principal rooms, although the decrepitude of age renders it no longer safe to sit down upon many of the chairs. Six Scotch Peerages are held by persons of higher rank in other countries. The Earldom of Newburgh is held by the Princely Roman family of Giustiniani Bandini, who are purely Italian. The families of Giustiniani (Venetian), and Bandini (Roman), which are represented by the present Prince-Earl, are more esteemed for antiquity in Italy than they would be in this country, since the noble families of Italy are generally far more modern than our own; but through the Cliffords and Courtenays the Prince is directly descended from Edward I. of England, and he represents not

only the Levingstons, Earls of Newburgh, but the historic Radcliffs, Earls of Derwentwater.¹ The expatriation of the peerage is in fact owing to the Jacobite faithfulness of that gallant race. Similarly to this, the Barony of Kinross belongs, by female descent, to the Duke of Buckingham ;² that of Dingwall, to Earl Cowper ; and that of Forrester, to the Earl of Verulam. The Baroness Nairne is Dowager Marchioness of Lansdowne, and the heir

¹ The descent is curious. Lady Charlotte Levingston, daughter and heiress of Charles, second Earl of Newburgh, married first the Hon. Thomas Clifford, and had female issue only, and secondly, the Hon. Charles Radcliffe (Earl of Derwentwater but for the attainder), who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1746, and by him had male issue. This male line became extinct in 1814, and the right to the Earldom of Newburgh thus reverted to the heirs of Mr. Clifford's daughter, who had married in exile. There also have been a series of sham Lords Newburgh, who bore the title under the belief that foreigners could not inherit such things, and must be treated as non-existent.

² His Grace's family consists of three daughters, of whom the eldest is consequently heiress presumptive to the Barony, which would then become separated from the Duchy and other titles. Under similar circumstances the Baronies of Dingwall, Forrester, and Nairne might emerge in the same way ; the latter is a curious case, since Lord Lansdowne has an Irish Peerage, the Lordship of Kerry, which dates from the thirteenth century, and is therefore presumably female, and which, as regards its antiquity, will always overshadow that of Nairne, which only dates from 1681 ; but here comes in the senseless rule which would give the precedence to a Scotch Baron over an Irish Baron, whatever the respective dates of creation, just as a Scotch Peerage is in a similar case subjected to an English one. The history of the Nairne title, though with one of the shortest proved pedigrees in the Scotch Peerage, is a strange and stirring record of Jacobite suffering. The family of Preston, to whom the Barony of Dingwall belonged, existed in Scotland as early as Alexander II., and the line can be traced to the time of David II. The Forresters are also a family stretching back to the reign of David II.

is her son, the present Marquess, now Governor-General of Canada.¹ The Lord Colville of Culross, representing a Scotch family of at least the twelfth century, must now also be considered an Englishman.

Very similar to the above are the Earls of Abercorn (D. Abercorn), of Dundonald, and of Loudoun, who, although they possess property in Scotland, do not live there. In a more doubtful position are some half-dozen or more Peers who possess and use houses in Scotland, but are certainly more than half Englishmen, such as the Duke of Lennox (D. Richmond, Lennox, and Gordon), or the Lord Herries. In other words, if the Scottish Parliament were to be restored to-day and aliens were excluded, seventeen Peers at least, and more probably some twenty-four or more, being more than a fourth of the whole body, would find themselves disqualified.

On the other hand, we have had the pleasure of welcoming back to Scotland the Lord Reay, after his ancestors have been Dutchmen for nearly a century. The MacKays are an Highland family of great antiquity, and probably cognate, at some remote period, with the Forbes.

It has been said that a man's religion is the most interesting thing about him, but the theme is at once so sacred and so personal that it is difficult to discuss it without impertinence. At the same time, it is a fair subject for statistical analysis, as far as it is a matter of public profession and is made no reproach against any man.

¹ [Now Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1903.—*Ed.*]

One Scotch Peer has felt constrained to renounce Christianity, though only for himself personally. Four are Catholics, but of these only one—Lord Lovat—represents an unadulterated and unaltered survival from the days before the Reformation. Lord Herries represents another such Scotch family—the Maxwells, including the historic Earls of Nithsdail—but he does so in the female line, and, as already remarked, is more than half an Englishman. The Earl of Newburgh (P. Guistiniani Bandini) is an Italian, and the Earl of Dumfries and Bute (M. Bute) is a convert. There is another Earl whose name appeared for some years in the *Catholic Directory*, but is to be seen there no more. Whatever be the case, he was, or is, a convert; his children did not follow him; and he never took any more part in Church matters of any sort than in politics. Of the remainder we doubt if as many as a dozen are Presbyterians, although that small band includes some of those whose names are best known and most respected, such as the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Aberdeen, or the Lord Balfour. The rest are Episcopalians. With some of these the Episcopalianism is hereditary since the seventeenth century, but in what are probably the majority of cases, it is the choice of the present or last generation. The fact is that at one time it was common for persons in a certain social position to attend and even communicate in, the Established Churches of whichever country they happened to be in at the time, and with some even now, it needs such an event as a baptism, a marriage, or a funeral, to make distinctly visible

the family's religious belief. The greater attention paid to Church questions in the last fifty years is rapidly exterminating these spiritual chameleons, whose colour only reflected that of the ground on which they might happen to be at the moment. The usual result is the appearance of a small but elegant Episcopal chapel in the immediate proximity of the family abode. The cause of this phenomenon is not very often to be found in principle; on the contrary, the builder or frequenter of the said chapel would not unfrequently be found to be hostile, more often indifferent, and very often shy upon the subject of the principles by which alone he could dogmatically have been actuated—such as a belief in the divine authority of Bishops, or the absolute necessity for the real celebration of the Lord's Supper, of the ministry of a Priest deriving a direct and continuous succession from the Apostles through Bishops' hands. Nor can such a step be called much a matter of taste. Presbyterian services are certainly neither drier nor longer than the Episcopalian. The average of the preaching is higher from an intellectual point of view, and the greater elasticity affords scope for an appositeness and variety of language which a written form—and especially a particularly narrow and monotonous written form like the Book of Common Prayer—necessarily precludes. The social position of a Peer exempts him from a temptation not unknown to the middle classes—viz., that of trying to make himself more 'genteel' by Anglicizing himself in religion; and, on the other hand, their lives and manners are

fortunately not such as to make the comparative laxity of discipline any inducement. It is really a matter of habit, and very much an application of the old principle of a man inheriting his father's politics and his mother's religion. The young Peer very often indeed finds that his mother is an Englishwoman, and she brings him up with her ways, ideas, and national tastes; then he is sent to England, and educated in an intensely Anglican atmosphere, first at a private school, then at a public school, then at an English University; then follows English society, probably service in an English regiment, and when his own English wife petitions for the small but elegant chapel, he is already 'an alien among his mother's children,' the Presbyterian worship is strange and rather distasteful to him—and the acquired habit and the lady are too strong for any little national or historic sentiment—principle on this subject he has none—which he may, by a rare chance, happen to feel upon the subject.

As we have remarked, however, the real interest of the Peerage is historical, and it is curious to observe the very small number of races represented. Indeed, some dozen surnames will cover more than half. It is a feature in it also that the same individual often represents several families. Thus, the Duke of Hamilton represents Stuarts, Douglasses, and Hamiltons, and the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, Scotts and Douglasses. This is owing to a great extent to the habit of a group of territorial feudal families in the Middle Ages constantly intermarrying. The result is to

render the task of analysis very difficult.¹ We will take here, first, some of the families as they have figured most largely in the history of Scotland, without particular regard to their antiquity. After this we may consider some of the more remarkable cases as regards antiquity. Lastly, we may remark the contrast between the actual dates of the Peerages and the antiquity of the families holding them. No view of this sort, however, will really convey any idea of the history or present state of the existing Scotch aristocracy, because the historic races—such as the Douglasses—are very largely represented by Commoners, whereas, by the very design of the present paper, we are here confined merely to the present state of the Scotch Peerage, and such representation, more or less fragmentary, as it offers of the historical races.

The first name which naturally occurs to the mind is that of Bruce, which is borne by two Scotch Peers—the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, and the Lord Balfour of Burleigh. It is also represented by H.R.H. the Duke of Rothesay (P. Wales) as Earl of Carrick, in the Royal House; and by the Lord Kinloss (D. Buckingham). Both the Houses of Balfour and Kinloss are, as Bruces, cadets of the House of Elgin, but the former, as Balfour, can only be traced to the middle of the

¹ It also had the effect, at the time, of producing frequent judicial declarations of nullity of marriage on the ground of consanguinity with absence or irregularity of ecclesiastical dispensation. Between this, the habit of territorial earldoms, and the occasional recognition of bastards, all complicated by the remoteness of time and the frequent scantiness of documents, the work of the genealogist also is often very hard and confusing.

fifteenth century. The exact relation of the family of Lord Elgin to the Royal House of Bruce is uncertain, nor does there seem to be proof positive that it is legitimate. They descend from a Robert Bruce whom David II. styled his kinsman (*consanguineus*). The Bruces themselves, afterwards Royal, are a Norman family who came to England with William the Conqueror, and became connected with Scotland under David I. By the marriage—so startlingly extraordinary in its circumstances—with Margaret, Countess of Carrick and Lady of Galloway, in 1271, they come to represent the ancient Lords of Galloway, a dynasty of Gaelic chiefs who at once strike the attention by their strange and unlovely proceedings when they emerge into the light of civilized history towards the close of the twelfth century.

The Stuarts, as everybody knows, are really Fitzalans, being a younger branch of the same family of which the Duke of Norfolk is the head. They first appear in England under the Conqueror, and Walter Fitzalan entered Scotland under David I. Nothing is known of their origin beyond the fact that the original Alan's father was called Flaald. It is true that a good deal of ink has been shed in striving to prove that this Flaald is the same person as Fleance, the son of Banquo—which would bring the family back to Scotland again—but it is needless here to enter into this discussion.¹ The House of Stuart is, of course,

¹ [Mr. Horace Round has since shown that Walter Fitzalan was descended from Alan, Dapifer of Dol. *Peerage and Family History*, 115-146.—*Ed.*]

represented by the Duke of Rothesay. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that at the lowest computation H. R. H. brings before us, from Kenneth M'Alpin, the august spectacle of a line which has reigned for more than a millennium, and, if we accept the descent of Kenneth from the earlier kings, we pass through the whole history of Scottish Kings, beginning with Loarn the Great in 503, until this kingly race disappears from record, but kingly still when it is lost in the blaze of heroic myths in Ireland. Among the other Peers the House of Stuart has no direct lawful representatives of the name descending from a period later than their accession to the throne, except the Earl of Moray, though a very large number of the Peers have the blood in lawful descent, owing to the marriage into their families of Princesses or female descendants of Princes.¹ The Earl of Moray, as Lord Doune and St. Colm, is descended, through the Lords Avondale and the Regents Dukes of Albany, from Robert II. As Earl of Moray, he of course represents the same blood unlawfully, descending from the Regent Moray, illegitimate son of James V. by Margaret Erskine. He also holds the Peerage of Gray, a family which dates at least from the time of Robert I. Perhaps the most prominent of the female descents of the Stuarts is that of the Lyons, Earls of Strathmore,

¹ The Earldom of Menteith is claimed by Mrs Margaret Barclay-Allardice as representative of David, son of Robert II., but as this lady's title, however good, has not been proved and recognised, it is not within the scope of an article on the Scotch Peerage as now officially existing.

from the Princess Jean, daughter of Robert II. who married her father's secretary, Sir John Lyon. The Lyons cannot be traced far beyond this, and speculation as to their origin is likely to be aroused by their arms (from which the name seems to be taken) viz., arg. a lion rampant az. within a double tressure, flory counter-flory, of the second.

There are, however, several families descended from that of the High Stewards before their accession to the Crown. The earliest of these families is that of the Earl of Erroll, hereditary High Constable and Knight Marischal of Scotland. His Lordship, but for the attainder of the Earl of Kilmarnock who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1746, would be Earl of Kilmarnock, and it is somewhat singular that, instead of a reversal of this attainder, which would give him this title, the Crown has only bestowed upon him a brand-new United Kingdom Barony of Kilmarnock in 1831. The Boyds of Kilmarnock, famous for their position chiefly in the reigns of James II. and III., are the descendants of Simon Fitzalan, brother of Walter, the first High Steward, whom he accompanied to Scotland. His son Robert was called Boyd (*Boidh*) from his fair complexion. The Earldom of Erroll, itself, however, belongs to the family of Hay, who also seem, like the Fitzalans and so many others, to have been among the followers of William the Conqueror into England, and to have entered Scotland under David I. They are represented by two other Peers besides the Earl of Erroll—viz., the Marquess of Tweeddale and the Earl of Kinnoull.

The other lawful representatives of the Stuarts are all descended from Sir John Stuart, called the 'Stout' Stuart, who fell at Falkirk in command of the men of Bute, in 1298. His son Alexander or his grandson John was made Earl of Angus by Robert the Bruce,¹ on account of the De Umfraville family having taken the English side, and from him descends, through George, Earl of Angus, son of Margaret, Countess of Angus, by James, first Earl of Douglas, the Duke of Hamilton and

¹ A remarkable and most confounding feature is caused by the existence at these early periods of *territorial* Earldoms—that is, Earldoms in which the ownership of particular lands conveyed the title also, just as the English Earldom of Arundel (held by the Duke of Norfolk) is confessedly attached to the proprietorship of Arundel Castle, and saleable or otherwise disposable along with that building. The original line of Earls of Angus is lost in the mists of time. They are first heard of as already existing dignitaries in the tenth century, and were continued by marriage in the De Umfravilles, who became entirely English, were forfeited by Robert I., and whose representatives, the Talbois, do not seem to have claimed the title. Next to them, the right would have hereditarily opened to the descendants of Magnus of Angus, made Earl of Caithness by Alexander II. in 1232, but these also seem never to have claimed it. They ended in a set of heiresses, as to whose number, names, and relationships there is still much obscurity. The rights of at least one of these became invested by marriage in the Norman family of St. Clair, represented by the present Earl of Caithness, and Thomas, 2d or 3d Stuart Earl of Angus, may possibly have intended to strengthen his position by marrying, in or soon after 1353, his kinswoman (as appears by the Papal dispensation) Margaret St. Clair of Roslin, sister of Henry, recognised as Earl of Orkney by Hakon VI. King of Norway, in 1379. Their daughter Margaret, Countess of Angus, in her own right, was mother, by William, Earl of Douglas, of George Douglas, Earl of Angus, to whom the present Duke of Hamilton succeeds as nineteenth Earl—although, without going into a mass of disputes and details for which there is no room here—he seems to have a much better right to be called at least the 23d, if not the 34th or even an higher figure.

all the numerous representatives of this branch of the Douglasses, including, through women, the Royal family itself, (which also represents, through Darnley, the second son, Alan) the Earls of Home and Orkney, and the Lords Forbes and Sempill. The fourth son of the 'Stout' John Fitzalan (Stuart) of Bonkyl, who died at Falkirk, was named after his father, John, and is represented in the male line, by the Earl of Galloway, who also, along with the Lord Blantyre, represents in the female line, the third son, Walter. The fifth son, James, is represented by the Duke of Athole and the Earl of Buchan, and as regards Lorne, by the Duke of Argyll also. The Duke of Athole, however, is really a Murray, descended from the famous Flening Freskin, who appears in the twelfth century, and his succession to the Stuarts, Earls of Athole, is only female, and dates from the seventeenth; the really ancient Earldom of Athole—a dignity of at least the time of Alexander I.—after a series of extraordinary changes and transitions, (being held, among others, by the patriot John, executed in London, November 7, 1306,) fell into the gang of Edward Balliol's filibusters, and disappeared in England by female heirs marrying into the Percy family. New titles of the same name were subsequently several times granted, before that given to the Stuarts. The case of the Earldom of Buchan is extremely similar, and the history of the original title is lost in antiquity, first appearing in the time of William the Lion. This line boasts an illustrious patriot in the person of the Countess Isabel

(daughter of the Earl of Fife) who set the crown (the second time) on Robert Bruce's head, March 27, 1306, and was afterwards imprisoned with such brutal indelicacy in the public cage constructed for her, by Edward I.'s orders, at Berwick. The Peerage then fell among Edward Balliol's lot of scoundrels, was attainted, and disappeared by marriage with the Beaumonts in England. Then there were fresh grants, ending by that to James Stuart in 1469. The present Earl is, in the male line, an Erskine—a family which appears in the time of Alexander II. and which is directly represented by the Earls of Mar and of Kellie: the Stuart succession comes by the marriage of Mary Stuart, Countess of Buchan, with James Erskine, of the Mar family, in 1617. Through a series of women, the Duke of Argyll, *quoad* Lorne, also represents this last mentioned James Fitzalan or Stuart, or, as he would probably have called himself, *Jacobus filius Alani, de Seneschallis Scotiæ*.

It thus appears that in the present Scottish Peerage there are only three Peers—Moray, Galloway, and Blantyre—who actually, as well as lawfully, bear the name of Stuart, although a fourth—Buchan—seems certainly to have more claim to be called a Stuart than an Erskine, and the descendants of the Fitzalan or Stuart race through females are numerous.

The word 'lawfully' has been advisedly written above. Some Radicals, when their imagination has outrun either their knowledge or their truthfulness, have been fond of representing the House of Lords as largely recruited from the class of

Royal bastards. There is only one Scotch Peer to whom as such this reproach fully applies. This is the Duke of Lennox (D. Richmond, Lennox, and Gordon). His ancestor, son of Charles II. by Mdle. de Querouaille, was created Duke of Lennox by his father at three years of age. His present Grace, however, is also the representative in the female line, of the great house of Gordon. The Gordons are themselves one of the early mediæval families, dating, in Scotland, from the twelfth century, but of the class of David I.'s Anglo-Norman immigrants. The male representative of the Gordon race, but by the collateral line of Earls of Aboyne, is the Marquess of Huntly. The Earl of Dumfries and Bute (M. Bute) descends directly on the Bute side, from a natural son of Robert II., but this has nothing to do with the Peerage, which was given for political reasons, between three and four centuries afterwards; as Earl of Dumfries he is a Crichton, representing a younger branch of this family, who first appear in the thirteenth century, and were once represented by the extinct Viscounts of Fren draught. Stuart blood of this sort exists in two or three other cases. We have spoken of the Earl of Moray. The most remarkable case is certainly that of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry. His Grace is really the head and representative of the Border clan of Scott, and, as Duke of Queensberry, of an illegitimate branch of the Douglasses, but his ancestress Mary Scott, head of the family in the time of Charles II., Countess of Buccleuch by succession and Duchess by creation, was the wife of the

unfortunate Duke of Monmouth (created D. of Buccleuch), son of Charles II. by Lucy Waters¹; and the present Duke is the descendant of that marriage.

There can be little question that the most remarkable family in the Scotch Peerage is that of Douglas. This race can indeed be hardly said to draw distinction from its position in the aristocracies of Europe; Europe itself is rather rendered remarkable by possessing it. As to Scotland, to write an history of the Douglasses, would be almost the same thing as to write the history of the country, and that, not so much because they largely appear in it, as because they made it. To chronicle their alliances and descents would be to give a manual of nearly all the distinguished families in it, including the Royal House itself; for instance, out of the six grown-up children of Robert III., no less than four married Douglasses. This family also possesses a remarkably clear, compact, and close history, from the very assumption of the territorial name by William of Douglas, son of Theobald the Fleming, in the twelfth century. His grandchildren, William and Andrew, divided the race into the two well known branches of the Black and the Red. Both alike have continued to

¹ It was, of course, vehemently asserted, especially at the time of Argyll's and Monmouth's rebellion, that Monmouth was the fruit of a lawful marriage between Charles II. and Lucy Waters; and a story went about a few years ago to the effect that the late Duke of Buccleuch had come across a lot of papers proving the fact, and had made a gift of them to Her present Majesty [Queen Victoria], but the statement was (so far as we remember) contradicted officially, on the Duke's authority.

hold the highest places in history and in society, both alike were allied with the most illustrious persons whom our history names, both alike soaked the sward of Flodden with their blood, but the Red Douglasses do not present such striking spectacles both of splendour and of tragedy as the Black. They are represented directly by the Earl of Morton, and the Count Douglas, of Sweden. On the other side, the descents are from William Douglas, the friend of Wallace, who died a prisoner in York Castle in 1302. His son James, when he expired upon Bruce's heart at Theba, left no lawful issue, but physiology and gratitude alike demanded that a breed so heroic should be preserved anyhow to serve Scotland in high places, and his son Archibald succeeded as third Earl of Douglas, and was progenitor of that Ducal House of Touraine in whom the glory of their tribe reached its zenith, only to be eclipsed in blood (not tears—they were not a crying race)¹ in a series of tragedies which almost transcends the imagination. This third Earl, Archibald, also had an unlawful son, William, but for the sake of his origin he was deemed no unfit mate for the daughter of a king; by his wife the Princess Egidia, daughter of Robert II., he is an ancestor

¹ It is a striking instance of their character, that when James, ninth Earl of Douglas, was brought into the presence of James II., in 1484, and could have had little but death, probably by torture, staring him in the face, he simply manifested his contempt for the crowned destroyer of his race and personal assassin of his brother, by silently turning his back upon him. The king, probably awed by his courage, allowed him to retire into the monastery of Lindores for the rest of his days.

of the present Earls of Caithness. Archibald, brother of the 'good' James, (he who bore Bruce's heart,) was Regent of Scotland, and fell at Halidon Hill, leaving issue, William, first Earl of Douglas, father of James, the second Earl. This second Earl, James, married the Princess Isabel, daughter of Robert II., without issue by her, and when he was killed at Otterburn, the Earldom was passed on to the third Earl as above, but the line of blood was continued in his unlawful son, William, who is the ancestor of the Duke of [Buccleuch and] Queensberry, the Marquess of Queensberry, and the Earl of Wemyss. The Regent Archibald had divers other children besides the first Earl, and from one of them (Eleanor) descends, among others, the Lord Torphichen, of the family of Sandilands. The Sandilands first appear in the time of David II. One of them happened at the time of the Reformation to be the Preceptor of the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and found—like Lord Lothian's ancestor the Abbat of Newbotle—that his conscientious scruples compelled him not only to embrace the Reformed doctrines, and pitch his monastic vows overboard, but also to appropriate to his personal use the property in his hands as trustee for those who had given it for charitable and religious objects.¹ Hence the Barony of Torphichen.

The first Earl of Douglas was also father, by

¹The Abbat of Newbotle is believed to have been only a commendator, but the Preceptor of the Hospital had taken solemn vows.

Margaret Stuart, Countess of Angus,¹ of George, called first Earl of Angus, who is directly represented by the present Duke of Hamilton, and is also ancestor, through his daughter Elizabeth, of the Lord Forbes, of the family of that name, who appear early in the thirteenth century. Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, by his marriage with Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. of England, sister of Henry VIII., and widow of James IV., is ancestor, through the wretched Darnley, of the Royal Family itself. William, tenth Earl of Angus, is an ancestor of the Lord Sempill, a Peerage now held by a Forbes, but originally created for the Renfrewshire family of Sempill, who seem to have been dependents of the High Stewards, and first appear in the thirteenth century. From the eleventh Earl came the family of the Marquesses and Duke of Douglas, now represented in the female line by the Earl of Home, who obtained a United Kingdom Barony of Douglas in 1872, in allusion to the fact. The Homes themselves are a family of extreme antiquity, descending, through the Earls of Dunbar

¹ The legitimacy of George, Earl of Angus, has been questioned on the ground that his father, William, Earl of Douglas, was undoubtedly survived by his first wife, Margaret, Countess of Mar, but it seems very probable that the marriage had been declared null on legal grounds, which would not have hindered the succession of the son James, while it would have allowed the father to marry again. George is called first Earl of Angus, because his mother—a Stuart of the regular Fitzalan (of Bonkyl) stock, by a St. Clair of Orkney and Caithness—resigned the Earldom, and it was immediately given to him. Why she did so, does not appear; it was possibly more convenient for territorial or similar reasons.

and March, from the Earls and Princes of Northumberland, allied to the Royal family of England, long before the Norman Conquest of that country. From the eleventh Earl of Angus also come the present Duke of Hamilton (nineteenth Earl) and the Earl of Orkney. The limitation of the succession to the Earldom of Angus is to males, and it consequently came into the family of the Dukes of Hamilton only in 1761, when, upon the death of Archibald, thirteenth Earl of Angus and first and only Duke of Douglas, the right reverted to the descendants of William, called third Duke of Hamilton, son of William, first Marquess of Douglas and eleventh Earl of Angus, by his second wife. Thus, His present Grace of Hamilton, though bearing the name of Douglas only as a second surname, is, through George, Earl of Angus, the direct representative, in the male line, of William, the first Earl of Douglas, of his father the Regent of Scotland who died for her on Halidon Hill, of 'the Hardy' William Douglas, the friend of William Wallace, and of Theobald the Fleming, to whom the Abbey of Kelso feued the lands of Douglas before A.D. 1160.¹

So much for this noble and illustrious race. As far as the Scotch Peerage is concerned, there are

¹ It follows, in consequence of the male limitation of the dignities of the House of Hamilton, that the heirs presumptive, after the brother of the present Duke, are the descendants, in male line, of Lord Anne Hamilton (so named after his godmother, Queen Anne), third son of James, fourth Duke of Hamilton. These descendants are very numerous. The first in order of succession is Alfred Douglas Douglas Hamilton, born in 1862, great-great-great-grandson of Lord Anne ; and, after him, his uncle and cousins, etc.

only three families who bear the name, viz., the Earl of Morton, the Marquess of Queensberry, and the Earl of Wemyss. The first is of the Red, or cadet, branch ; the second and third are only from a bastard of the young hero of Otterburn, and the last does not quarter the arms—those arms which it is difficult for a Scotchman to see without a certain amount of emotion—the three mullets which so often shone by the side of Wallace, and the pictured image of that kingly heart which throbbed with the excitement of victory upon the field of Bannockburn.

The families above mentioned are not an unfair specimen of those now represented in the present Scotch Peerage. They nearly all appear for the first time in the Middle Ages, subsequently to the political and social changes effected by the accession and marriage of Malcolm III., the exodus from England into Scotland caused by the Norman Conquest of the former country, and the tastes and polity encouraged by David I. Many, indeed most if not nearly all, are either certainly or possibly of foreign extraction, Norse, English, or Norman. But, on the other hand, through women, many can trace a descent from much earlier stocks. Thus, the Stuarts and the Bruces really represent the ancient Lords of Galloway and the Kings of Alban. In the same way, there are three Peers of the family of Erskine—the Earls of Mar, of Buchan, and of Kellie. This family can only be traced to the early part of the thirteenth century, but through Helen, daughter of Christian Bruce (sister of Robert I.) by Gartney, Earl of Mar, they

represent the old Earls of Mar, of whom our earliest record is that the then Earl was killed at the battle of Clontarf in A.D. 1014. There is no indication that the family or the dignity were then new, but we have no earlier record.

The Hamiltons are represented in six Peerages—viz., the Duchy of Hamilton, the Earldoms of Abercorn, (D. Abercorn,) Haddington, Aberdeen, and Orkney, and the Barony of Belhaven. They are a Norman family, who came into England with the Conqueror, and had begun to settle in Scotland in the twelfth century.

There are five representatives of the family of Murray,—viz.: the Duke of Athole, the Earl of Dunmore, the Viscount Stormont (E. of Mansfield), the Lord Elibank, and the Lady Nairne (Dowager Marchioness of Lansdowne). This race, so eminent in our history, are descended from Freskin the Fleming, who settled in Scotland in the twelfth century, under David I. The Duke of Athole would be King of Man (or *in* Man, as they were sometimes called, since the right to use the Royal style outside their kingdom was disputed,) had not his predecessors the Queen and King (Duke and Duchess) Charlotte and James sold the sovereignty to the British Crown for £70,000, in 1765. The island, as is well known, enjoys Home Rule under its own constitution, but many besides the readers of the *Chronicon Regum Manniæ et Insularum* must regret the disappearance, by absorption among the Imperial titles, of this venerable Kingship. The succession to the Crown of Man did not, however, come to the

family of Athole by descent from the Douglasses, to whom Robert I. had assigned it after his conquest of the island, but from the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, who had it by grant from the English Henry IV., after its re-subjection by England.

The Campbells are represented by three Peers, viz.: the Duke of Argyll, and the Earls of Loudoun and of Breadalbane. This family seem to be of Anglo-Norman origin, as the name itself would appear to imply—*de Campo Bello*, i.e., Beauchamp or Fairfield. The Lorne side is derived through the Fitzalans (Stuarts) of Pierston, from Alexander, Fourth High Steward of Scotland, and the Celtic side from marriage with the O'Dwins or O'Dwbins. It has been said that this family of O'Dwin is a solitary instance of a Scotch surname in O'. This is incorrect; they are really Irish immigrants, *teste* Mac Firbis, *apud* Reeves¹—‘Tuathal Maolgarbh, son of Cormac Caoch, King of Ireland, had two sons, namely Garban, . . . Ui Duibhduin and Ui Duibhne.’ It is the same name as Downie and O'Dowd. The Earl of Loudoun, as already heretofore remarked, is almost entirely an Englishman. His name is Abney Hastings, and he does not at present carry the arms of Campbell. He possesses, however, collaterally and by females, a remote strain of the same blood as William Wallace, whose mother was a Crauford of Loudoun.

The Frasers have two Peerages, viz.: the Baronies of Saltoun and Lovat. They first ap-

¹ Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, p. 41.

pear in the time of David I., and the name is French—from *fraise*, a strawberry, flowers of which plant they bear in their arms. The most distinguished man they have ever produced was Wallace's personal friend, Simon Fraser, executed in London, September 7, 1306, and the name of Simon has remained hereditary, especially in the Lovat branch.

The St. Clairs or Sinclairs—*de Sancto Claro*—are again a typical case. They came into England from Normandy with the Conqueror, and seemingly into Scotland with David I. It is certain, however, that by marriage they can trace their blood at least to the Angus line of Earls of Orkney, if not to the original Norse Earls, in which case they would present one of the few instances of the same family enjoying the dignity of Earl for more than a millennium. They now hold two Scotch Peerages, viz., the Earldom of Caithness and the Barony of Sinclair. The Gordons also seem to be Anglo-Norman immigrants under David I., and are represented, in the male and female lines respectively, by two Scotch Peers, the Marquis of Huntly and the Duke of Lennox (D. Richmond, Lennox and Gordon), and in a younger branch by a third, the Earl of Aberdeen. The family of Leslie are of Flemish origin. They have been settled in Scotland since the time of William the Lion, and are represented in the present state of the Scotch Peerage by two persons, the Countess of Rothes and the Earl of Leven and Melville. The Kerrs also possess two Peerages, viz., the Duchy of Roxburghe (created

within a week of the Union, April 25, 1707, but there is a Barony of 1600,) and the Marquess of Lothian. The latter holds in descent from the church-robbing Abbat of Newbotle, at the time of the Reformation. This family is again Anglo-Norman, and appears in Scotland in the thirteenth century. The twin Earldoms of Southesk and Northesk are both held by Carnegies, a family whose real name is Balinhard, and who do not seem to be traceable beyond the time of David II.

But the foreign family of all others, now holding two Scotch Peerages, which possesses the most extraordinary descent, is that of Lindsay, represented by the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres, and of Lindsay. They entered Scotland under David I. and England under William the Conqueror; but Sir Bernard Burke says:—‘It has been established, after long and patient investigation, that their first ancestor was a cadet of the House of De Toeny, Knights of the Swan, hereditary standard-bearers of Normandy, with the Dukes of which they had a common male origin. Randolph, Sire de Toeny, living in 1018, great-grandson of Ivar, Jarl of the Uplanders, descended of the race of Thor and Fornioter, in remote ages legendary king of the north (male ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy and of the Clares, Cliffords, Staffords, Toenys, Lindsays, etc.) had two sons (1) Roger de Toeny, (2) Hugo, who adopted from a fief in Normandy the surname of Limesay, etc., etc.’

The family of Drummond is represented by two Peers—the Earl of Perth and Melfort, and the

Viscount Strathallan. There is some doubt as to whether they are of native origin, one account assigning their ancestry to an Hungarian who came to Scotland along with St. Margaret. They first appear distinctly in the thirteenth century. The history of the Drummonds is a noble though sorrowful record of Jacobite loyalty and self-sacrifice.

The race of Scott seems to be native, unless (as indeed no antiquary will deem improbable) we assume them to go back to the period when *Scotia* meant *Ireland*, and that hence the name implies an original derivation from that country. The name is not uncommon in the twelfth century, and the ancestor of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry can be traced to the thirteenth. The Lord Polwarth is of the same clan, though the Peerage was created by William and Mary for the Humes of Polwarth.

An undoubtedly native family which is represented by two Peers—the Earls of Airlie and Seafield—is that of the Ogilvies. This family is of the most extraordinary antiquity, and descends from the original Celtic Maormers of Angus, one of whom is mentioned in A.D. 939, without any indication that there was then anything new in the dignity. They consented to describe their rank by the term of Earl in the reign of Malcolm III., and from them, through the Countess Matildis, came the De Umfravilles, Earls of Angus, spoken of already as dispossessed by Robert I., afterwards adherents of Edward Balliol, and ultimately merged in the Talbois. Gilbert, third son of Gillabrighe

(‘servant-of-Brigid’), Earl of Angus, took the name of Ogilvy from land in 1172, and from him descend the present Peers. The Earl of Seafield holds in the female line, and is paternally of the clan of Grant.

The Grahams are represented by the Duke of Montrose, and are another family settled in Scotland under David I. The Earls (D.) of Sutherland used formerly to claim to have the most ancient existing title in Britain, but this is certainly not the case, as it was only created in 1228, and the Earldom of Mar, although at present formally ranked after them, is, as has been remarked, far older. The Sutherlands are descended from Freskin the Fleming, already mentioned, who settled in Scotland, like so many others, under David I., and are now represented through the late Duchess-Countess Elizabeth, by the English family of Leveson-Gower. The Montgomeries hold the united Earldoms of Eglinton and Winton. Both as Seton and as Montgomery they first appear in Scotland under David I., but the Montgomeries are an ancient and noble Norman family, allied to that of the Conqueror, with whom they came over to England: Roger de Montgomerie commanded the first body of the Norman army at the battle of Hastings. The Kennedies, who possess the Earldom of Cassillis (M. Ailsa) are likewise of David I.’s time. The family of Maitland—a name which occupies in the history of Scotland several positions rather prominent than glorious—can be traced to the time of Alexander III., and hold the Earldom of Lauderdale. Another family of the settlers

under David I. are the Ramsays, now Earls of Dalhousie. A much more modern race—as far as existing records go—are the Cochranes, Earls of Dundonald, whose line it seems difficult to trace (although there are isolated persons of the name as early as the time of Alexander III.) before the seventeenth century. An interesting historical spectacle is presented by the family of the Keith-Falconers, Earls of Kintore and Lords Falconer. As Falconers, they derive their pedigree and their name from the chief falconer of William the Lion; as Keiths they date (putting aside a clearly fabulous legend) from the usual period of David I., and are the representatives of the old Earls Marischals of Scotland. Supposing this title and office to be transmissible through women, and the attainder of the tenth Earl (for rising in the '15) to be removed, Lord Kintore would be entitled to it. In any case, if barred by the female descent, there appears to be male heirs of earlier Earls, and it certainly seems a pity that this venerable historical honour should objectively exist no more.

The family of Dalrymple, who possess the Earldom of Stair,¹ seem to have been originally a branch of the Kennedies. Isolated members of

¹ It would appear that the name of 'the curse of Scotland' given to the nine-of-diamonds in a pack of playing-cards, is not really to be attributed to the Butcher Duke of Cumberland's having written the words 'No quarter' on it, as a general order, on the night before the battle of Culloden, but to the arms of this family, viz., *or, on a saltier az., nine lozenges of the field*. It seems to have been aimed at the first Earl, the eminent Whig statesman, chiefly famous for getting up the massacre of Glencoe.

the family appear subsequently to 1371, when they entered into possession of half of the Barony of Dalrymple, from which they take their name, but the actual progenitors of the present Earl do not appear to be clearly traceable beyond William Dalrymple who had a Papal dispensation for marrying a kinswoman in 1450.

The Boyles, now Earls of Glasgow, seem to have been already owners of Kelburn in the time of Alexander III., but the two remaining Scotch Earls, Primrose, Earl of Rosebery, and Hope, Earl of Hopetoun, cannot trace their ancestry beyond the time of Queen Mary, although isolated Hopes are found in Scotland as far back as the thirteenth century.

The only Viscounty not already mentioned is that of Arbuthnott, held by the family of the same name, but originally Olifards, on whom it was bestowed by William the Lion, and who have dwelt there ever since.

The family of Elphinstone, Lords Elphinstone, cannot be traced before the early part of the fourteenth century: they are said to be descended from a daughter of Robert I.'s brother-in-law, Christopher Seton, who suffered at Dumfries. The family of Borthwick, Lord Borthwick, first appears in the first half of the fifteenth century, and that of the Napiers. Barons Napier, as merchants of Edinburgh, at the commencement of the same century. The Rollos, Lords Rollo, descend from a secretary of David, Earl of Stratherne, son of Robert II. The extremely historic race of the Ruthvens, Lords Ruthven—of whom were the

Earls of Gowrie—returns once more to the time of David I.; their ancestor seems to have been an immigrant of Saxon or Danish origin.

In considering the general result of these observations it may be as well first to take the Royal family, represented by the Duke of Rothesay (P. Wales), both on account of their special position and because they are to a great extent typical. The pedigree is of enormous length. It certainly takes them to Kenneth M'Alpine, and so shows them to have reigned for more than a millennium. If Kenneth's kingship with the antient Kings of Dalriada be acknowledged, the present Royal family go to the very origin of Scottish monarchy, some three centuries and a half earlier, and then disappear from sight, still reigning, in the vistas of antient Irish royalty. Again, they descend from and represent the antient Lords of Galloway. But these descents are through a series of women, not only Her present Majesty,¹ but Sophia, Electress of Hanover, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, Mary, Queen of Scots, the Princess Marjory Bruce, wife of Walter Fitzalan, Sixth High Steward of Scotland, Margaret, Countess of Carrick, and Isobel of Huntingdon, great-granddaughter of David I. As Stuarts (Fitzalans) or Bruces, they belong to the feudal and Norman aristocracy of David I.'s time. Finally, His Royal Highness holds his titles of High Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Baron of Renfrew, and Lord

¹ [This was written in 1886.—*Ed.*]

of the Isles, pursuant to an Act of Parliament of 1469.

Of the other Peers, the Duke of Argyll may claim an extreme antiquity of race through the Ui Duibhne, but in male descent, as regards actual length of pedigree, the Lindsays, if Burke's statement be correct, can hardly admit a competitor, and the same may be said of the Ogilvies, with regard to male descent in residence in Scotland. For antiquity of title, the Earl of Mar, with his Peerage of at least the eleventh century, may be said to stand alone next after the Crown itself. The Earl of Mar, however, descends in the female line, and is an Erskine, and this brings the enquirer at once to the main group from whom most of the members of the present Scotch Peerage are descended. These are the races which first appear under the feudal polity favoured by David I., and many of whom were of foreign origin, and brought into the country. After them come scattered mediæval families, until we reach two of the time of Mary—the Primroses of Rosebery and the Hopes of Hopetoun—and one completely post-Reformation, if indeed it be so, viz. : the Cochranes of Dundonald.

If, however, such be the antiquity of these families, the antiquity of their Peerages is a very different thing. In analysing these, it is necessary to regard the existing Peers, not by that Peerage by which they may be known, but by the earliest which they may happen to possess ; for instance, the Duchy of Argyll dates only from 1701, but His Grace holds the Barony of Campbell

from 1445. From this point of view, the Earl of Mar, as already remarked, stands alone with a Peerage of at least the eleventh century, before, it might almost be said, such things as Peerages existed. There are none of the twelfth century, and only one of the thirteenth, viz., the Earldom of Sutherland. There are two of the fourteenth, viz., the Earldom of Crawford, and the Earldom of Angus held by the Duke of Hamilton, as already mentioned. Of Peers of the fifteenth century, there are twenty-seven. Of these twenty-seven, six are Earls, of whom one has been made a Duke (Athole) and one a Marquess (Huntly). The others are all Baronies, but one is held by a Duke (Argyll) one by a Marquess (Tweeddale) and eleven by Earls. Five Peers only owe their earliest title to the sixteenth century. These are all Baronies, but one is held by a Marquess (Lothian) and two by Earls (Abercorn and Lauderdale). After the year 1700, only three families still independently existing—Ogilvie of Seafield, Primrose of Rosebery, and Hope of Hoptoun—were ennobled *de novo*, though eight higher such degrees were given, including four out of the seven Duchies. It may be remarked that two of these,—Montrose, April 24, and Roxburghe, April 25, 1707, within a week of the Union,—were the last Scotch Peerages ever created. Of the existing eighty-one Peers, therefore, no less than forty-two, or more than half, owe the original ennoblement of their blood to the seventeenth century, and no less than fifty-five, or more than

five-eighths—including the three remaining Dukes¹—owe to the same century the title by which they are known in the Scotch Peerage.

In the above pages no notice has been taken, except very slightly and incidentally, of Peerages which are either extinct or dormant, the object being, not to write an essay upon things which are altogether of the past, but to comment upon the amount of historical interest which attaches itself to a group of people still existent. The Peerages which are merged with others have been alluded to as far as needful; if of the same degree, they are necessarily all more recent than those with which they have coalesced, and were often merely different honours conferred on kinsmen of the same family. Their number is not large—the Duchy of Queensberry has been joined to that of Buccleuch; the Earldoms of Winton to Eglinton, Ancrum to the Marquessate of Lothian, Kincardine to Elgin, Balcarres to Crawford, Aboyne to the Marquessate of Huntly, Melfort to Perth, Melville to Leven, March to Wemyss, and Bute to Dumfries; the Viscounty of Dupplin to the Earldom of Kinnoul; the Baronies of Gray to the Earldom of Moray, Cardross to that of Buchan, Jedburgh to the Marquessate of Lothian, Madderty to the Viscounty of Strathallan, and Halkerton to the Earldom of Kintore.

The Peerage of Scotland is interesting, like some other objects, as a reminder of the things

¹ Excluding Rothesay.

which were until 1707. It is interesting also, as far as it goes, in preserving and marking at least some of the historic races who have made, or been themselves made by, the History of Scotland. As a Peerage, however, it is very much a crumbling monument of the period subsequent to the departure of our Kings for the South. Fortunately, it is exactly those other ingredients in it, which are the most valuable and the most interesting, which are also the most likely the longest to resist the destroying power of time.

PARLIAMENT IN SCOTLAND.

SOME time ago, Mr. Mitchell, the Treasurer of the Scottish Home Rule Association, wrote to me with regard to the publication of certain pamphlets. These pamphlets all related more or less to the general subject of Home Rule, and they certainly embodied the personal opinions of divers members of the Association, although it could not be said that any or all of them expressed the official opinion of the Association, as such. My reply was to ask him to excuse me, not only because I was not a member of the Association, but also because some of the pamphlets in question dealt with Irish politics, upon which I did not feel called upon to express an opinion, and others advocated ideas from which I told him frankly that I differed. My letter—as is indeed sufficiently evident from its gossip style—was not written for publication. As, however, Mr. Mitchell thought it worth while to publish the latter part of it, and as, moreover, this was reproduced by some newspapers in a very inaccurate and mutilated form, I am glad to take the present opportunity of dealing at greater length with the points referred to in it.

The ignorance which prevails in England with regard to Scotland is sometimes amusing, and

occasionally irritating. It is often astonishing. This is the case with the notion that the desire for a National Parliament is limited to the actual members of the Scottish Home Rule Association. As a matter of fact, there is a very wide-spread and increasing consciousness that whatever may have been the merits of the Union of 1707 when it took place, it is an arrangement which time has now outgrown. The Union was brought about under peculiar financial circumstances, in which a large share must be attributed to the great skill and success with which William III. had striven to use the Darien scheme as a means of reducing Scotland as nearly as possible to a condition of national bankruptcy; and it was immediately based upon the dynastic questions connected with the Act of Security. The degree of national prosperity which the country has now succeeded in attaining in spite of the Union is great, and perhaps as remarkable under the circumstances as it is gratifying, while the dynastic question which was the Union's very reason of existence, is absolutely dead. Whether the Union was or was not desirable in 1707 is a question of antient history, almost as useless for any practical purpose as those of the identity of the Mons Graupus or Graupus, or of the moral character of Mary, Queen of Scots. History is almost pricelessly valuable in its own sphere. Things which are good in themselves are all the more venerable upon account of antiquity. But it is absurd that the living present and the future should continue to be injuriously bound and hampered in deference to a set of cir-

cumstances belonging to a long dead and buried past.

The subjects upon which popular discontent with the Union is most often expressed are probably two. One of these is the habitual neglect of Scottish legislation in Parliament. The session of the present year [1889] is one of those exceptions which prove the rule. It will indeed certainly be followed by a re-action. The Scottish people are moreover represented in the House of Commons upon a different and smaller scale than those of either of the two other Kingdoms, whether regard be had to number of population or to wealth and amount of contribution to the Imperial revenue—a fact which they pretty generally realize. Akin to this are the complaints as to the manner in which proposed legislation of a purely Scottish character is first shaped under English auspices and after English models, and then subjected to the will and judgment of a majority of English and Irish representatives. The second most common complaint is that of the inconvenience and expense to which the parties concerned in Private Bills are subjected, by the transaction of that legislation in London, and the similar burdens laid upon litigants in the resort to the last Court of Appeal. Cognate to the latter hardship is the fact that when the House of Lords is at length reached, either the whole or the majority of the learned Lords who compose the tribunal are men confessedly without knowledge of the Scottish Law as to whose doctrines they are called upon to decide. And here also may be

mentioned another and similar, though still more exasperating complaint. This is the jurisdiction claimed by the English Courts over Scotsmen in the province of common law,—a subject which was discussed in a very able and very moderate, perhaps too moderate, article in the *Scottish Review* for January, 1887.

What may be generically called the social effects of the Union form an entire class of phenomena by themselves. One of these is a sort of brain-tax from which Scotland suffers, in the fact that so many able men are induced to leave the country, by the greater attractions offered to ambition in England. This movement is constantly stimulated by the steady action taken in the way of cutting down the number of honourable and lucrative offices in Scotland itself. Other facts more particularly affect the labouring classes. Among these is the absence of expenditure of public or Crown money upon public works. Comparatively unimportant in this respect is the neglect of the public buildings, of which the condition of the Palaces of Stirling, Linlithgow or Dunfermline, the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, and of nearly every ancient Cathedral in the country, forms a striking example. There would indeed sometimes seem to be a sort of wish that such historical and artistic monuments of the past, the sight of which is calculated to quicken national feeling in the present and the future, should perish. They are neglected and mostly allowed to fall into ruins, while their restoration and upkeep would be not only a source of pride and pleasure and of historical and artistic

education to the whole community, but would also ensure the expenditure of very large sums among workmen, especially those who live by skilled labour. More serious are the scantiness of Government orders, and the absence of Government works, such as arsenals. Far more serious still is the absence of works such as harbours, which would at once aid the industries of the country, and at the same time be a protection to the lives of those who are engaged in them. Lastly, may well be considered another result of the Union, which deprives the country at once of men and of money. This is the manner in which the wealthier classes are obliged or induced to pass nearly always a great part, often the greater part, and sometimes nearly the whole of their time in England. This is not to be regretted only for the sake of the humbler classes who would profit by the expenditure among them of the incomes of the richer, largely drawn from their labour. The landowners become estranged from the dwellers upon their own estates; and the fact engenders discontent among the latter; although it must be confessed that it does so in a less degree than that in which it destroys the sentiments alike of patriotism and of kindliness in the former. Such proceedings as the 'Sutherland Clearings' are now happily a moral impossibility. But the conditions which the Union has produced and which rendered them once possible, exist more fully than ever. Absenteeism creates alienation of sympathies, an exacerbation of class distinctions, mutual ignorance, and finally the want of consideration, the

hardships and the ill-feeling which are now so unfortunately to be found in many parts of the Highlands and Islands, and which the Crofter Commission is a mechanical device to cure.

Several of the results of the Union of 1707, already enumerated, have a bearing upon yet another point, namely, the effect which the Union exercises upon the material prosperity of the country. This question was very clearly, ably, and moderately discussed in the article upon *The Union of 1707 Viewed Financially*, which appeared in the *Scottish Review* for October, 1887. That article, as far as it goes, is unanswered and unanswerable. Those whom it did not please, were driven at once to resort to the last refuge of impotence, viz., personal abuse of the anonymous author. It was a striking instance of ‘No case : abuse the defendant’s solicitor.’ Argument against it there could be none. It is impossible by cursing, to delete the printed figures from pages of Blue Books. But there was certainly one thing in which the well-known financier who wrote that article was wrong. He greatly under-stated his own case. With regard to a particular item, for instance, such a phrase occurs as ‘probably £500,000 would not overstate it, but to keep well within the mark, we shall place it at £300,000.’ His weakest statement was probably that in which, the annual value of land in Scotland assessed to income-tax being about $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, of which about three-sevenths belong to Peers or Baronets, he proposed to name two millions as representing the amount of income spent in London

and elsewhere in England. He left out of calculation any incomes not derived from land, the fact that to a very large number of Scottish proprietors their annual sojourn in London occupies the greater and certainly constitutes by far the most costly portion of their year, and that the two classes whom he names certainly do not form the half of those whose incomes are thus applied. From the figures upon which he himself went, it is clear that he ought to have set down the annual dead loss in money which is entailed upon Scotland by the Union of 1707 at a sum of eight or ten millions rather than of four.

The wonder is that all these causes do not produce in Scotland a more active agitation for a revision of the Treaty in question. To account for this, it is perhaps first necessary to remember the remarkable patience and quietness which are so characteristic of our race. But there are other reasons as well. The historical aspect of the Union, as well as of many other epochs of the national history, is not nearly as well known as it ought to be, and as, indeed, it might naturally be expected to be. The history of Scotland is usually to be found only in the form of jejune summaries of the most repellant dryness, or in costly and voluminous works by scholars, generally treating of special epochs, and both alike often written under the influence of violent prepossessions, and sometimes inflamed with the most furious polemics inspired by religious, political, or historical sympathies. There has been and is a gradual if not a systematic tendency to supplant the study of the

National History, even in the higher seats of learning, by that of the History of England. It is more than probable that these lines will be read by many who do not know what is meant by the Darien Scheme or by the Act of Security, and who have never heard that the disastrous consequences of the Union were so immediately and so appallingly evident that its own authors endeavoured to undo their work only six years later. Then, the social consequences of the Union are widely accepted as a matter of habit. People are accustomed to see the clever and aspiring go to seek a career in England. The neglect of public works is looked upon as the normal state of affairs, except from time to time when some terrible disaster such as the loss of fishermen's lives causes a spasmodic demand for some preventive. That wealthy landowners, the representatives perhaps of great historical races, and the proprietors of vast tracts of the country, should never visit their properties, except for a few weeks during the shooting-season, or that they should abandon them altogether and let them to alien strangers, is accepted as a matter of course. These things are not infrequently bewailed, or at least regretted, but it is not nearly so often known or realized that it is the Union of 1707 which is their cause, and that its repeal would be their immediate and almost entire cure. Lastly, with regard to the purely monetary question, it is a singular fact that an idea or belief does actually still extensively prevail that the Union has been beneficial to the material interests of the country. Even the pages

of the financial writer just cited are not free from some lingering traces of this superstition, although with the figures before him he is obliged to transfer the benefits of the Union to some vague and undefined sphere. It is curious to conjecture how a delusion so entirely opposed to facts ever arose. It was one of the false prophecies of the advocates of the Union at the time, and their reputations became of course involved in the success of their prediction. On the other hand, while the Union was regarded as irrevocable, the notion that there was at least some compensation of a material character, offered a last consolation to despairing patriotism. The wish was father to the thought on all sides. Hence comes all the nonsense of this sort which Sir Walter Scott—although, evidently, much against the grain—thought it necessary to write. Perhaps the popularity of his works has something to do with the survival of a mistake so extraordinary. Anyhow, strange as it may seem in the face of the inexorable logic of facts, it is not an uncommon belief in Scotland even at the present day that the Union has conferred great benefits upon the country from a financial point of view. People do not know that as a matter of fact the Union nearly beggared the population for several generations, and that the country is still bled annually at the rate of about £2 per head of the population in deference to a totally extinct dynastic question which happened to exist in the year 1704.

There is still another cause which has operated hitherto to prevent as strong an expression of

national impatience under the existing state of things as might otherwise have been the case. This cause acts upon the membership of the particular Association of which Mr. Mitchell is the Treasurer, as well as other reasons of different sorts and of a special kind into which it is unnecessary here to enter. The cause in question is the desire of most men individually not to loosen in any way their adhesion to that one of the two great political parties, into which the country is generally divided, to which each man may chance to belong. The Tories are indeed the historical heirs of that great national party, if party it could be called which embraced nearly the whole nation, which was opposed to the Union at the time when it took place, and which would in all probability have averted it, had it not been for the vacillation (or the treachery?) of the Duke of Hamilton. But the English Conservative party to which these gentlemen adhere has hitherto given them no encouragement to act upon the principles of their ancestors, and has indeed sometimes brought them into such strange company that they can hardly be distinguished from Liberal Unionists. It would sometimes be amusing if it were not pitiful to see Scottish Tories indulging in private or even in public in the glorification (mostly, it must be confessed, in the form of literary effusions), of their political ancestors, and then proceeding to the enunciation and support of political doctrines to oppose which the ancestors in question cheerfully laid down their lives. The followers of Mr. Gladstone, upon the other hand, represent historically

the group of Whig and Hanoverian statesmen by whose singular labours the Act of 1707 was passed and upheld, and, although they have of very recent years, accepted certain principles of an Home Rule character when applied to Ireland, they have received from the head-quarters of their party just as little encouragement as their Tory opponents have towards any movement for the establishment of a Scottish Legislature. There is widely prevalent among them the avowed doctrine that even if a thing be right in itself, it is wrong to take it up unless at the desire of Mr. Gladstone. To such a length is this carried that the Scottish Home Rule Association has actually been termed anti-Gladstonian, merely because its members have associated themselves without Mr. Gladstone's initiative, and regardless of the fact that it has been the aim of the Association from its very inception, to keep itself clear from being identified with either of the great political parties in the State (from both of which its members are, as a matter of fact, drawn), and to rest solely upon the basis of pure patriotism.

It would indeed be deeply to be bewailed if the movement, which demands the re-constitution of a Parliament in Scotland, were to become identified with either the Toryism or the Liberalism of the present day. The sentiment which inspires it is elevated in a sphere far above the wranglings of political partizanship, and has its life in affection for country and countrymen. It ought to be carried on in the same remarkable spirit of common devotion to the good of the common Fatherland

which animated the meeting held in Edinburgh, but a few years ago, to demand the resuscitation of the office of Home Minister for Scotland, where the Tory Lord Lothian presided over a gathering composed mainly of Liberals, and where no voice of partizan division marred the patriotic unanimity of the assembly. In the presence of the great object to be attained to-day, historical recriminations must be silent. It would be especially to be deplored if the Scottish National movement should in any way be mixed up with the discussion of the Irish question. The nature of the cases and of the arguments which affect them are entirely different. A single remark is hardly necessary in order to show this. If an opponent of Irish Home Rule be asked why he objects to such a measure, the reply, in ninety-nine cases out of an hundred, will be that, in his belief, Home Rule in that country would be followed by civil war, by anarchy, by oppression, by insecurity to life and property, by the withdrawal of capital, that it would mean an Irish Government acting under an overwhelming clerical influence of a particular character, that it would put power into the hands of men hostile to the Monarchy, who might even, in the contingency of war, place Ireland as a point of vantage at the disposal of a foreign enemy. No one in their senses would predict such consequences as contingent upon the sitting of a National Parliament in Edinburgh, occupied upon such legislation as may be necessary for the internal well-being of Scotland. Moreover, the Irish themselves have no wish for any association, far less fusion, of the

questions. It was Mr. Parnell who thought it best to say: 'Scotland has ceased to be a nation.' The Irish colony in Scotland have never shown any inclination to identify themselves with the land of their birth or adoption. On the contrary, they sometimes manifest an unprovoked hostility. Finally, it is enough to remark that there are plenty of persons who associate themselves with Irish Nationalist ideas, regarding whom every Scotchman would exclaim, as so many of the leading men of Ireland are fain to exclaim—'*Non tali auxilio.*'

If it would be insanity to suggest that the result of a Parliament sitting in Edinburgh would be any of those evil consequences which have been and are constantly suggested as the prohibitory objection to a Parliament sitting in Dublin, it is worth while to consider for a moment what the consequences of the Edinburgh Parliament would be. The first benefits would probably be felt at Westminster, and by the English Conservative party, for the House of Commons would be relieved and the English would be free to manage their own national concerns in their own way. In Scotland itself there would be an intensified sentiment (if that be possible) of loyalty towards the Throne, a quickening of all social life, of which the benefits would chiefly fall upon the working classes, and an increased diffusion of wealth, of which the results would be immediately apparent. The National Parliament would not sit for a preposterous period of the year. It would not be noisy and dilatory. Its proceedings in the way of

debate would consist of a limited number of grave and careful speeches, probably little more extended as regards length and number than are the proceedings of the House of Lords. Some have feared that a Scottish Legislature would lend itself to measures of an extremely Radical or, as they would be termed, Socialistic nature. That immunity from such measures is a merit of the present system cannot be asserted in view of the recent attempt of the present Conservative Government to abolish primogeniture. But leaving such a consideration upon one side, and leaving out of the question the power of the Crown in giving or withholding the Royal assent, it may be confidently anticipated that such fears are groundless. Measures of this sort are generated by the embitterment of class feeling. Whatever embitterment of class feeling there may unfortunately be in Scotland (and it is almost, if not entirely, confined to the Highlands and Islands), is the direct and undoubted result of the Union of 1707. With the cause, the effect would die. So far from there being any natural animosity between the different classes of the Scottish people, it is remarkable to what an extent the old families are regarded by those to whom they are near with a kind of historic pride, and it is sometimes touching as well as wonderful to see how the feeling of affection survives in such cases, even when absenteeism, alienation, or other like fruits of the Union of 1707, have made it necessary to transfer—let us say, *pride*—to an abstraction. A National Parliament would probably begin by separating into

parties over some such question as Disestablishment, and it would go on to concern itself with matters like Compensation for Unexhausted Improvements, Education, Public Works, and similar topics.

The composition of a Scottish National Parliament is of course a question which naturally falls to be discussed, at any rate to some extent, in the present paper. An anonymous article upon the subject appeared in the *Scottish Review* for July, 1886, and another, by Mr. Mitchell himself, in April, 1888—the latter, at least, of which was to form the contents of one of those pamphlets of which the proposed publication has been the indirect cause of the writing of these pages. The silence in which the greater part of the articles in question will be here passed over must not be understood as implying either assent to or dissent from the propositions which they contain. But they contain two proposals in particular to which exception will here be taken.

It is suggested that the Scottish constituencies should return two sets of representatives, one to the Imperial and the other to the National Parliament, although it should be possible to return the same person to both. Whether it is in itself desirable, from a purely Scottish point of view, that Scottish representatives should regularly attend a Parliament in England, is a question which is not here discussed. The affirmative has generally been enunciated and accepted, and is assumed here. It will at the same time be remembered that the notion of returning members from Ireland

to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster is one which has been viewed with very great dislike in Ireland itself. One of the great merits, perhaps the chief merit, of Mr. Gladstone's scheme was that it excluded them. The Irish argument is that if they have to return members both to Westminster and to Dublin, they will only get an inferior class of candidates for the seats at Dublin. It would be idle to pretend that the same argument does not hold good in Scotland. Many able men, from ambition, family connection, taste, or other causes, would compete only for the membership of the Imperial Parliament. The National Parliament, for which nothing that the country could yield ought to be too good, would be deprived of their services, and left to those of an inferior class of members. There would be a distinct liability to an habit of creating 1st Class, 2nd Class, and 3rd Class Members, according to the body or bodies to which they were returned ; and it is quite possible that the 1st Class would be the members returned to Westminster alone, and more than probable that the 3rd Class would consist of those specially returned to Edinburgh. There would be encouraged the growth of a particular type of member, to which it is said that the popular language of America has affixed the expressive if inelegant epithet of ' Carpetbagger.' These would be a species of professional candidate, selected and sent down to Scotland by London political clubs, by them, as it were, warranted sound, and elected upon that warranty, who would have no intention of settling in Scotland, and

would only pay an occasional visit for the purpose of addressing their constituents, while they themselves lived in England and especially in London, and, even if they happened to belong to the 2nd Class, or members of both Legislatures, would look upon the Scottish Parliament as a kind of inferior local committee, where they might or might not occasionally condescend to appear, and for the reversal of whose decisions they could always use their votes at Westminster. Such a system, instead of curing the evils of the Union, would both perpetuate and aggravate them. Moreover, such an arrangement is open to the obvious and insurmountable objection that the country might possibly send men to represent one set of opinions in London and another in Edinburgh. There seems to be only one way in which such a possibility can be avoided, and the best legislative talent which Scotland could produce, secured for the National Parliament in Edinburgh at the same time as representation in the Imperial Parliament in London. This is simply by adopting the plan which was already in use in the time of Charles I., after the beginning of the Troubles. Let there be no entrance into the Imperial Parliament except for a member of the National Parliament, and let such members of the Imperial Parliament be chosen by the National Parliament from its own body, under the name of Commissioners. The representation of any respectable minority is a mere matter of mathematical arrangement as regards the manner of voting. It is here assumed that the number of members

of the National Parliament would be much larger than that of the Scottish members of the House of Commons. That such should be the case, would not only entail the advantage of a fuller representation of the Scottish population to legislate upon home questions and to serve upon Committees, but would also secure the services of men who for any cause (and it is very easy to imagine several) might be willing enough to attend the Parliament in Edinburgh, but would shrink from the additional bondage in London.

The other proposal of the writers above mentioned to which exception is here taken, is the suggestion that a National Parliament in Edinburgh should be composed of two Chambers, an House of Lords and an House of Commons. No such thing as an House of Lords was ever heard of in Scotland. It is not, however, upon a merely antiquarian ground that it would seem undesirable now to invent one, nor is it intended here to say anything as to the possibility of any improvement in the constitution of the present House of Lords at Westminster. Surely a little reflection will show to anybody the numerous objections to now importing or introducing such a novelty into Scotland for the first time. Even, however, if it were otherwise desirable to invent an House of Lords in Edinburgh, the Scottish Peerage does not afford the materials out of which to form such a Chamber. The creation of a Scottish Peer ceased to be possible in 1707, and even if a set of new Peers were to be made, the new Peers would always represent a second and markedly inferior

class in regard to a dignity as to which antiquity is one of the most esteemed features. The Scottish Peerage consists of barely eighty persons, of whom a certain number would always be disqualified by sex, age, or infirmity. Some are absolute foreigners, such as Lord Newburgh (the Roman Prince Gius-tiniani-Bandini), others are completely Englishmen; some do not possess a square inch of land in Scotland, others never or very rarely come there. Indeed, if aliens were to be excluded, more than a fourth part of the whole body would probably find themselves disqualified. Even historically, the Scottish Peerage, considered as such, is not a particularly venerable body. The families, it is true, are nearly all antient, most going back to the Thirteenth Century or earlier; but more than half owe their original titles to the Seventeenth. There is perhaps no one who would wish to see the Scottish Peers deprived of their titles and precedence, which form an interesting and indeed picturesque historical monument, but it is a monument which is crumbling down under the hand of time (more than half the Peerages which existed in 1707 have disappeared), and it certainly does not afford all the materials necessary for the constitution of a separate legislative Chamber.

The old Parliament of Scotland consisted of a single Chamber, in which sat representatives of Four Estates, viz., the Clergy, the Peerage, the Counties, and the Burghs. The Estate of the Clergy was abolished in the reign of Charles I., restored under Charles II., and abolished again under William and Mary. No doubt it had been

of most use in the early Middle Ages, before the foundation of the Universities and the development of Grammar Schools, and before the Church of Scotland had been ravaged by the later abuses of the right of Patronage. At that time the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors served to represent the interests not only of religion and of landed property considerable in character rather than in extent, but also, in a great measure, those of agriculture, jurisprudence, education, learning, and science. It is to be presumed that no one would now propose to restore it again. At the same time, it would certainly be just to abolish the political disabilities of the Clergy. A Catholic or Anglican Priest or an ordained minister of the Established Church of Scotland cannot be a member of the House of Commons. Any other minister of religion may. The distinction drawn between an Established Church minister and a Free Church minister is senseless. Clergymen sit freely in the House of Lords, and the fact causes no inconvenience. Several are frequent, and one, at least, a remarkably powerful and brilliant speaker. If a constituency wishes to return a clergyman as a member, it is hard to see why it should not. The same remark applies to Peers. The Scottish Peers, however otherwise qualified, are not allowed to vote in Parliamentary elections or to be themselves elected, because they are Peers, and they are not allowed to sit in the House of Lords, because they are Scotch. In the case of a Scottish National Parliament, they ought

to have the same rights of voting and being elected as are enjoyed by Commoners.

The fact that both the entire and unbroken historical tradition, and the present conditions of Scotland, are opposed to the invention and introduction for the first time in all Scottish history of an House of Lords, and that, even if they were not, the Scottish Peerage does not supply the material out of which such an House could be formed, need not deny to a Scottish National Legislature the advantages which the House of Lords in London affords to the Imperial Parliament, and which the representation of the estate of the Peerage in the old Scots Parliament afforded to Scotland before the Union. The House of Lords represents less exclusively than it did in the Middle Ages the interests of landed property, of the agricultural districts, and of mental culture, because these things are now more widely diffused, and the hereditary Peerage, as it now exists, is not as strong a guarantee of them as it was then. But it does continue to afford to the country a protection, if it choose to accept it, against the vagaries of representatives who may no longer reflect the sense of their constituencies, and the advice of a body of men mostly of mature years, of experience in business, and of the highest education which the discipline of school and college and the practical knowledge of life affords, and who are, moreover, raised above the temptation of being corrupted by the dread of offending electors. The same end could be attained in a Scottish Parliament by a body of Life Peers, who, forming,

like the Estate of the Peerage in the old Scots Parliament, a fourth part of an assembly of some 200, of whom the rest were the representatives of counties and burghs in proportion to population, would give all these advantages, while avoiding the danger inherent in the possibility that a wise and good man may be the ancestor of a fool or a knave. Such a body would be large enough to embrace those of the hereditary Peers whom the Government might deem it desirable to see members of the legislative assembly, and men whose advice might be valuable but whose temperament, whose means, or whose work would lead them to shrink from the repellant turmoil of contested elections at frequent though irregular intervals. The fact of a fixed number would preserve the Chamber against liability to be arbitrarily flooded by a batch of new creations, which is one of the stock menaces employed towards the House of Lords. At the same time, as Life Peers would be created upon the advice of the ministers of the day, the group so formed would always represent the steady current of national opinion, safe, upon the one hand, from being carried away by transient whims of popular excitement, and, upon the other, from the danger of ceasing to live in accord with the developments of national life.

There remains one other element whose representation in a National Parliament ought to be a matter of consideration. It may be roughly called the Official. In the present state of things, seats have to be found for ministers, which gives a great deal of needless trouble. The House of Lords con-

tains a class of members who may be strictly called official. And Parliament has the right of summoning the judges to give their opinion upon questions of law. In a Scottish Parliament it would surely be better at once to give seats *ex officio* to all the ministers and great officers of the Crown, and to all or a large section of the Senators of the College of Justice. To these it would be natural to add some representative of military matters, such as the Commander-in-Chief, and possibly some other persons. Thus, for instance, the Chancellors or Principals of the Universities might represent the interests of the higher education and learning, and the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee, the municipal authority of the great centres of population. But these are details, into which it is quite needless here to enter. One remark only may be added. There are certain officials of the Crown whom it might be held very desirable to admit, such as the Dean of the Chapel Royal, as representing the relation of the State towards the Church, the Lyon King, as the official guardian of the National History, and the High Constable, as head of the Royal Household. Some of these, like the last named, might be hereditary. And it might well be that as the hereditary principle rules in the Crown itself, it should be recognised, in a Scottish Parliament, in the case of the Dukes, whose rank as Princes separates them from all other subjects. The matter would be of but little importance numerically, as the Duchies are only eight in

number, and of these one belongs to the Heir Apparent, one to the first subject next to the Blood Royal, and two more are the Duchies of Buccleuch and Argyll, the holders of which no one would be likely to wish to exclude. The other four are the hereditary representatives of the great races of the Gordons (Lennox, Richmond and Gordon), the Murrays (Athole), the Grahams (Montrose), and the Kerrs (Roxburghe). One thing may be said with certainty. Should it ever unfortunately be the case that any of these dignities were held by a man whose voice was not worth having, he would be a man who would not put himself to the trouble of giving it.

Such a National Parliament for Scotland as is here tentatively sketched would therefore consist of a group of official persons, possibly about 30 or more in number, and then of a body of some such number as 200, of whom one quarter would be Life Peers, and the rest the representatives of the Counties and Burghs in proportion to population. This Parliament, as an whole, would send up to the Imperial House of Commons, under the name of Commissioners, a body of representatives, whose number should either be the same as at present or one corresponding to the wealth and population of Scotland as compared with those of the two other Kingdoms. The right of the hereditary Peers to send representatives to the House of Lords would remain undisturbed.

The crucial difficulty in all Home Rule schemes in themselves is that of finding a solution to the question of what is to be done in case the National

Parliament disagrees with the Imperial Parliament. The answer in this case seems to be, The Power of the Crown. If there is to be a Scotch National Parliament in Edinburgh, the Scottish people must be prepared to accept a very much freer exercise of the Royal Perogative of refusing assent to Bills which have passed, than has been the case for many a generation. The Crown would naturally be guided by the opinion of the Imperial Parliament. The National Parliament would therefore in practice be liable to have its will thwarted by that of the Imperial Parliament. This is exactly what is the case at present. The majority in the Imperial Parliament is often not in agreement with the majority of the Scottish members, and necessarily overpowers them. Moreover, it is to be observed that the occasions upon which the Royal veto would be exercised would probably be few in comparison with those when the wishes of the Scottish people are now out-voted or put aside, and that the antient and undisputed prerogative of the national Crown would be less vexing than silence imposed by an Assembly of English and Irish subjects. Upon the other hand, with a Scottish Legislature, Scottish legislation would not be impeded and neglected owing to the plethora of business which overwhelms the House of Commons at Westminster; Scottish Private Bill legislation would be transacted upon the spot; and it is to be hoped that in litigation the Scottish tribunal would be again the Supreme Court in reality as well as in name. A fresh number of honourable and lucrative careers would

be opened at home, in which the able and aspiring might rise ; the public money would flow in public works for the benefit of all, and especially of the working classes ; and the duties, the occupations, and the inducements which would keep the rich much more in their own country would encourage mutual sympathies, and do away with much hardship and ill-feeling, while it would pour upon Scotland herself the bulk of that wealth which she yields, but which is now annually taken from her to swell the abundance of England.

There is one factor which has not been taken into consideration in the preceding pages, but which makes for the re-establishment of a Parliament in Scotland. That factor is the sentiment of pure patriotism. The emotion of Scottish patriotism is none the weaker because it is subdued and rather shy in expression. It is very strong. It is to be hoped that it is growing stronger. It is that sentiment which, among other things, will make men otherwise of differing political parties to be of one mind in this. It is that sentiment which will make men ready, as the present writer is ready, to yield their own opinion in matters of detail, and loyally to accept such as the Scottish people shall, when the time comes, regard as offering the best security for the prosperity and happiness of our country.

DAVID, DUKE OF ROTHESAY.

[The following paper is the substance of a lecture delivered on January 22, 1892, before the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh, by the author, in his capacity of their honorary President.]

THE mysterious death of David, Duke of Rothesay, at Falkland, is probably the circumstance with which the name of that place is most closely associated in the greater number of minds. This fact is, no doubt, owing in great measure to the manner in which the event has been treated by Sir Walter Scott in the *Fair Maid of Perth*. Very little attempt has been made, as far as I am aware, to treat the life of this Prince from the point of view of historical criticism. On the other hand, Sir Walter Scott has used it as a subject for the use of his powerful and pathetic genius. The *Fair Maid of Perth* presents, especially in the characters of Robert III. and his son, a remarkable instance of the great novelist's power of making his characters live before the reader. Indeed, this is so to such an extent that I am conscious that the image which I form of the Duke is even now very much affected by the creation of Sir Walter's imagination. But on the other hand, Sir Walter has unhappily allowed himself in that famous romance all the licence in altering and re-arranging

the facts of history, to which he was only too prone ; his history, such as it is, is based upon the statements of Bower and possibly coloured by the fictions of Boëce ; and, even if he would have used them, he had not at his disposal a large portion of the scanty historical material which has been discovered or printed since his day.

The sources of knowledge as regards the few years of David, Duke of Rothesay's public career are indeed remarkably scanty, even more so than is usually the case with the historical matter relating to Scotland, as opposed to the abundant, interesting, and varied documents which supply the matter for the history of England. There is only one strictly contemporary Scottish historian, namely Wyntoun, the Prior of St. Serf's Inch, in Lochleven, but his history is very sketchy and slight, and moreover, doubtless in order to popularize his work, he wrote not in Latin prose but in Scottish verse, and it is very difficult to express a date in poetry. Bower wrote some forty years later, and may very probably, when he cannot be verified, be retailing idle gossip, which at its very best can only have existed when he was in his 'teens. As to actual documents, the very foundations of historical truth, I have hardly ever seen any of the Duke's own, including only one letter, although they are referred to abundantly in the monetary accounts of the time ; the Register of the Great Seal is lost about the third year of Robert III. ; and in the Exchequer Rolls the entries are made only under the head of the year, without any nearer specification. Hence we are

driven back upon casual charters, diplomatic correspondence, and the like, to be found scattered in all sorts of different directions. I have made a great number of notes of these, and, although I feel sure that there must be more information to be had than I have obtained, I do not think that any very abundant source of knowledge has escaped me.

The Prince was born, according to Bower, upon October 24, 1378. The place was probably either Scone or Perth, as Parliament was sitting at Scone at the time, and his father witnessed a Royal Charter there upon the very day. I made some attempt to ascertain where he passed his childhood, by noticing the places where his father, then Earl of Carrick, witnessed charters, but he seems to have constantly accompanied the King, and the movements of Robert II. are so erratic and his journeys so long and frequent, that it seems practically impossible that he could have been followed by an infant. The Prince David was eleven and a half years of age when his grandfather Robert II. died at Dundonald (April 19, 1390) and his father John, Earl of Carrick, ascended the throne under the name of Robert III. Robert III., as is well known, had been crippled by an accident. He suffered from extremely weak health, and although his mild virtues combined with his prepossessing and dignified appearance to make him beloved by those with whom he came in contact, there are no evidences of his having possessed any unusual mental force, whereby to counteract the results of his physical misfortunes.

It may be gathered from some indications, such as the Queen corresponding on international matters with Richard II. in 1394, and giving a tournament in 1398, that he was sometimes incapable even of transacting business and taking a part in social amusements. On the other hand, the scanty materials for his personal history show that his journeys were sometimes very frequent, and his changes from place to place almost restless. He was particularly fond of the Firth of Clyde, and of sailing about from one place to another on its shores. When he was in the interior his chief residence seems to have been Perth. The state of his kingdom was often deplorable. For nearly the whole of his reign a Regency was established, first under his brother Robert, Duke of Albany, then under his eldest son, David, and then again under Robert of Albany. He appears to have been constantly surrounded by one small group of ministers, of whom his brother, the Duke of Albany in particular, seems rarely to have left his side.

The witnessing of the Charters of Robert II., as I have remarked, shows that during the early years of David, his father lived constantly with the old King, and as the Prince grew older, probably implies his own presence to an increasing extent. As I have already said, they changed their residence from place to place a good deal, but showed a decided fondness for the shores of the Clyde, the hereditary seat of their race. At the beginning of the year, 1390, Robert II. had been up at Dundee and Aberdeen. Thence he came to Perth, and was afterwards at Linlithgow in the

latter half of March. It may be conjectured that he then felt the need of seeking the milder climate of the West. He was at Portincross (Arnele) at the end of March, and died, as I have remarked, at Dundonald on April 19, when his grandson David was aged nearly eleven and a half. His sons, John and Robert, were with him all the time. His body must have been embalmed, as he was not buried till nearly four months after. One object of this delay may have been to obtain fine weather for the proceedings of the funeral and of the subsequent Coronation, and for the journeys of those who had to take part in them. In the meanwhile, upon June 17, the disreputable Prince Alexander, Earl of Buchan, commonly called the Wolf of Badenoch, burnt the town and Cathedral of Elgin, with its library and documents.

Robert II., about thirteen years previously, had prepared a sumptuous tomb for his own burial. It was kept in St. John's Church at Perth, and was now taken thence and erected in its place at Scone. The Royal Family, doubtless accompanying the body, arrived at Perth before July 18. I conjecture that it must have been now that the Wolf of Badenoch, upon public penance and promise of reparation, etc., was conditionally relaxed from excommunication, at the Black Friars Church of Perth, in presence of the whole Court, etc., to enable him to attend his own father's funeral. The burial and the Coronation took place at Scone with the greatest possible pomp, and at an immense expense. On Saturday, August 13, the interment was performed, the Bishop of Glas-

gow officiating and the Bishop of St. Andrews preaching. The following day, Sunday, the King was crowned and anointed by the Bishop of St. Andrews, this being only the third occasion on which this ceremony had taken place in Scotland. The Bishop of Glasgow preached. On Monday, which was the Festival of the Assumption, the Queen Annabella Drummond was crowned, the Bishop of Dunkeld officiating and preaching. The homage of the Barons, a ceremony usually associated with the Coronation, but which had been omitted, perhaps not to over-fatigue the King (which may also have been the reason for deferring the Queen's Coronation) was performed upon the Tuesday, with a sermon by the Bishop of Galloway. Within the next month the Court moved to Edinburgh.

Prince David must at this time have been with his father and mother, and the solemnities of the Royal funeral, the coronations of his parents, and the homage of the lieges to his father, must have been among the earliest things which strongly impressed him, unless indeed we should assign such a position rather to the marriage of his eldest sister, Margaret, with Archibald, Master of Douglas, which is conjectured to have already taken place before his father's accession. His changes of abode can be mainly followed by those of his father, since in his earlier years he must necessarily have been with his parents, and as soon as he becomes a little older we find him so constantly attesting the few charters of his father which are accessible as to lead to the inevitable

conclusion that his habitual residence was at Court.

The title of Earl of Carrick, hereditary in his family, was immediately bestowed upon him, and not long after, perhaps in the Parliament held at Perth, in March, 1392, an income of £640, the payment of which was apportioned between the customs of nine different burghs, was settled upon him. This sum, even making a very full allowance for the greater value of money at that period, can hardly be reckoned to amount to the £15,000 which it is now the custom to allow even to the younger sons of the sovereign while still unmarried. It might have sufficed very well for the expenses of a little child, but when we regard the enormous burdens and labour which were imposed upon Prince David only a few years later, it seems, even when eked out by occasional special grants, to be altogether inadequate. And the consequences of this scanty provision appeared later.

With regard to the persons by whom he was surrounded, they were of course for the main part simply those who composed his father's court. The chamberlain of his household first appears in 1393 in connection with the Prince's first year's income. He was William Drummond. In the next year there is a new one, John Logy, who continued more than a year, and was then succeeded by John Stuart of Craigie. For the financial year ending in April, 1396, the receipts are partly by this John Stuart, partly by Patrick Hepburn, and partly by John Niddry. The prince was then seventeen. John Niddry, an able man of business

who had been in the employment of the Crown since before the Prince was born, appears to have been a faithful and attached servant to him, and remained in his service, with one short interval, until the end of his life. As to his actual education nothing appears, but I conjecture that it was probably conducted with the advice of Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, a man who was constantly at Court, and who seems thoroughly to have merited the confidence placed in him by the King, unless indeed you desire to blame him for the part he took in the Great Schism in the Papacy by adhering, and doubtless urging the Scottish Government to adhere, to the person variously called Robert of Geneva and Clement VII., an old personal friend of his own, by whom he had been nominated to his See, and to his successor, an adherence which can hardly have been weakened when Boniface IX., in 1397, did his best to confer St. Andrews upon the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Fitzalan. However, and by whomever, the Prince's education was carried on, it was certainly careful and it was successful, for Wyntoun mentions the fact of his wide knowledge of literature, a fact which, especially under the circumstances of his constant changes and occupations, proves not only the ability of his teachers, but his own industry, capacity, and taste.

In order to follow the scenes of his boyhood, it may be worth while roughly to sketch the movements of the Court, as far as the very scanty materials I have been able to find enable me to do so. Soon after the Coronation, as I have re-

marked, the King went to Edinburgh, and stayed there, although not continuously, till about the beginning of February, 1391, when he returned to Perth. In March he held a Parliament at Scone, and then, after a few days at Dunfermline, went back to Edinburgh, but from this he went almost immediately to the Clyde. His habit seems to have been to go about by sea from one place to another, yachting, in fact. He stayed in the West, although not quite continuously, till near the end of the year, when he went to Edinburgh once more. After another short journey to the West in February, 1392, he went to Perth, where he held a Parliament in March, and stayed in the East till towards the beginning of July, when he again returned to the Clyde. He made a journey including Linlithgow and Dunfermline in October and November, but seems to have gone back to Rothesay for Christmas. This year is remarkable in the history of the Prince—only fourteen in October—for the very early age at which he was introduced to public business. At some time during it he was sent to be present at a great justice aire held at Lanark. In the middle of January, 1393, the King had to go back to Perth, and stayed there at least a month. He was in Edinburgh and Linlithgow in March, and I then lose all trace of him till October, when he was at Glasgow. I conjecture that he passed the summer on the Clyde. From Glasgow he went to Perth, where he held a Parliament at the end of October, and then went again to Edinburgh. He passed Christmas there or at Linlithgow, but held another

Parliament at Scone, in March, 1394, and after some stay at Perth, returned to the Clyde.

The young Prince was now fifteen, and discussions on his marriage already began. We have the following letter from the Queen to Richard II., dated at Dunfermline, August 1.¹

‘To a most high and mighty Prince R., by the grace of God King of England, our dearest cousin, A., by the same grace Queen of Scotland, greeting and affection. For your friendly letters to us presented by our well-beloved Douglas, the Herald of Arms, we thank you entirely and from the heart, by the which we have understood your good estate and health, to our great pleasure and comfort. And, dearest cousin, as to the treaty touching the marriage to be made between some kindred of your blood and one of the children of the King my Lord and me, please you to know that it is agreeable to the King my said Lord and to us as he has signified by his letters. And in particular that, inasmuch as the said treaty could not hold the third day of July last past, for certain and reasonable causes contained in your letters sent to the King my Lord above said, you have agreed that another day of the same treaty shall be kept the first day of October next coming, the which is agreeable to the King my Lord aforesaid and to us, and we thank you with all our will and heart and we pray you dearly that you would continue the said treaty and make to be kept the said day, because it is the will of the King my Lord above

¹ The original is in French.

said and of us, as much as in us lies, that the said day be held without fail. And, dearest cousin, we request and pray dearly that it give no displeasure to your Highness that we have not sooner written to you, seeing that we were lying in childbirth of a male child who is named James, and we have been well and graciously delivered by the grace of God and of our Lady; and also because that the King my said Lord was, at the coming of your letters, at a great distance in the Isles of his kingdom, we did not receive these letters sent to us on this matter till the last day of July last past. Most high and mighty Prince may the Holy Spirit always keep you. Given under our seal, at the Abbey of Dunfermelyn, the first day of August.'

By the 'Isles of his kingdom,' I doubt not that the County of Bute is meant. On getting this letter Richard II. empowered certain Commissioners, of whom the chief were the Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Northumberland, to meet at Kelso with the Scottish Commissioners, of whom the principal were the young Prince himself, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Earls of Douglas and March. It was hoped that this marriage might be the means of effecting a lasting peace between England and Scotland, instead of the constant bickerings and short truces, the documents concerning which form the staple of the international historical matter at this period. But no more is heard of it. It must have fallen through.

The Court seems to have passed the winter at Perth, but from this time till several years after-

wards the documents which I have seen are so excessively scanty that it is impossible to form from them even a general idea of the movements of the King or of the Heir-apparent. In the accounts for the year ending in April, 1396, given in at Perth, it is mentioned that the Prince had been to the North upon the King's business, and in a charter granted by Robert III. at Perth upon the last day of the month, in favour of John Logy, who had been recently the chamberlain of the Prince's household, we find, so far as I have observed, for the first time, the name of 'our first-begotten, David of Carrick,' as that of one of the attesting witnesses. In the next accounts, for the year ending May, 1397, we get for the first time a peculiar entry of a sort very indicative of the position in which the Prince was placed by the unwise parsimony of the Government on the one hand and the duties which he was expected to fulfil upon the other. The tax-collectors of Edinburgh admit a responsibility for £79 17s. 9d. (say, about £1500 of our money) given to the Prince in the year before that of the account, viz., that in which he had first been sent to the North on the King's business. The Commissioners refused to pass the item except by the King's own command.

In this year, 1396-1397, the Prince had again been sent to the North upon the King's business, and it is natural to suppose that he had had some hand in arranging the famous Battle of the Clans, which took place in the King's presence upon the Inch of Perth (not, as stated by Sir Walter Scott, upon Palm Sunday, but) upon September 28, 1396.

Upon the morality of this proceeding I do not wish to say anything. It was the very age of judicial combats. I will only remark that if war is inevitable—and here the alternative was a war of indefinite duration waged with all the horrors of savagery—it is better that it should take place under absolutely fair conditions, with every facility for medical and religious help for the wounded, without danger to women and children, and be limited to as small a number as possible, and these the most turbulent and dangerous enemies of the public peace. It is, however, difficult to escape the conclusion that Prince David was present along with his father at the disgusting spectacle. It is one thing to give a sorrowful and reluctant assent to the necessity of capital punishment, and another to go deliberately to see an execution. This battle seems to have been made a sort of gladiatorial show, as the cost of the arena prepared for it was £14 2s. 11d., which I take it would be represented by some £300 of our money. At some time in the ensuing year, *i.e.*, before April, 1398, the Prince was again sent to the North, but this time very probably to try to put a stop to the sort of war which his uncle, the Wolf of Badenoch, was carrying on against the See of Moray, to which a new Bishop was appointed in September, 1397, and was invested in the temporalities in January, 1398.

In the May of 1397, Robert III., as though acting on a kind of general principle of marrying as many Douglasses as possible, entered into a contract, dated in Edinburgh, with the famous Isabel, Countess of Marr and Angus, to marry

some one of his daughters to her son George, Earl of Angus.

In October, 1397, the Prince completed his nineteenth year, and at the beginning of the month, his father, who was then at Dunfermline, appears bringing him forward in the conduct of the most important public affairs. It was there arranged that on Monday, March 11 next ensuing, he should, accompanied by other Commissioners, meet John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, accompanied by English Commissioners, with a view to the renewal of the truce. The Court then seems to have gone to Linlithgow for the winter. There, upon November 9, were executed by the King, in presence of his son and brother, a batch of deeds relating to the arrangements made as to the property of George, Earl of Angus, and the Princess Mary is in them called his spouse. Hence I conjecture that her marriage with him may not improbably have just taken place there and then, if not while the King was still at Dunfermline. The political international meeting took place in the early spring according to arrangement, the Prince being accompanied among others by his uncle, afterwards Duke of Albany and then Earl of Fife. The indenture for the continuance of the truce was executed upon Saturday, March 16, at a place called Hawdenestanke, or Haddensdank, which seems to have been rather a favourite one for such meetings. Mr. De Gray Birch, of the British Museum, has favoured me with a note upon it. It seems to have been adjacent to Hadden-rig, in the parish of Sprouston, in the extreme North-

East of Roxburghshire, and close to the Border. There seems to be no remains of any building which could have accommodated the Commissioners, and perhaps they were encamped in tents. The transaction of business appears to have been completed early in the day, as upon the following day, Sunday, March 17, the Prince wrote from Melrose to John of Gaunt¹ the only private letter of his which it has been my fortune to meet with. The text is in the same handwriting as the signature, but at first I felt much doubt whether it were the Prince's own, as the small and crabbed though neat text seemed to me almost too formed a hand for so young a lad. However, I consulted Sir William Fraser, and he showed me very fully-formed handwritings by lads early trained to business, and he was moreover of opinion that no clerk would have been permitted to attach the Prince's signature. The letter is in French, and I venture to remark that it contains two mistakes, which seems to argue colloquial facility rather than scientific study.

‘High and Mighty Prince, my most dear and loved cousin, as to the matter of which you and the Bishop of St. Andrews have spoken, I have heard and seen that which you have advised in that matter, and will report it to the King, my Lord, and, according to what shall seem good to

¹ The printed Historical MSS. of Scotland unfortunately publish this letter as written to Richard II., but the address upon the back to ‘hault et puissant prince mon tres cher et aimé cousin le Duc de Guyenne et de Lan—’ is perfectly distinct.

him, will proceed in the advancement of the business by the help of God, in the manner you have proposed or otherwise, at the time contained in your writing, or sooner if it can well be. High and Mighty Prince, if there be anything for your pleasure that I can do, courteously be pleased to tell me, and may the Almighty God have you in His most holy keeping. Written at Melross the seventeenth day of March.

‘ DAVID, ELDEST SON OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND,
‘ EARL OF CARRYK.’

What the subject matter was which John of Gaunt had discussed with the Bishop of St. Andrews, does not appear. It is not, I think, improbable that it may have been some renewal of the scheme for the marriage of the Prince with a member of the Royal Family of England, or it may have been connected with the political intrigues which ultimately culminated in the fall of Richard II.

From Melrose the Prince must have immediately proceeded to rejoin his father, and they were at Perth after the middle of April. A fragmentary record of the Parliament which opened there upon the 22nd, speaks of the Earl of Moray being associated with the Duke of Albany in commanding the army, if the Duke of Rothesay will not do it. This is the first occasion upon which I have noticed that the two Princes are called by this title, which was an entire novelty in Scotland, but which the King had determined to introduce. David Lindsay had been created Earl of Crawford

the day before, and perhaps their creation was on the same day. The Earl of Douglas is said to have refused the title of Duke, preferring to retain his great historic designation. The business of the Exchequer Court went on until Friday, 26th, on the Saturday the Court seems to have moved to Scone, and on the Sunday the two Royal Dukes went through a solemn ceremony somewhat of the nature of a Coronation. This seems strange to us among whom a Duchy has become a mere title, but it would be natural enough in the case of a reigning Duke, and it was evidently from this that the idea was taken. The description in the Register of Moray is as follows:—‘Upon the Lord’s Day, April 28th, 1398, our foresaid Lord, Robert, King of Scotland, in the Church of the monastery of St. Michael of Scone, created and raised the Lord David his first-born son, then Earl of Carrick, to be Duke of Rothesay, and the Lord Robert, brother of the Lord King, then Earl of Fife, to be Duke of Albany; and he solemnly adorned and invested them with furred mantles and caps and other insignia fit for and used to be given to Dukes only, during a solemn mass sung by the Lord Walter Trail, then Bishop of St. Andrews.’ Bower adds that the Bishop also preached. At the end of Lord Beauchamp’s edition of the *Liber Regalis* there is a Ritual for the inauguration of a Duke, and there are two in Martene *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, but these we can only conjecturally harmonize with what we know of the ceremony at Scone, nor is there time here to do so. The other insignia were probably a

ring, a sword, and a coronet. This might indeed be concluded from the Rituals, but it is confirmed by the Great Seals of Robert of Albany and his son Murdoch, as Governors of Scotland. They are there represented as clad in mantles and caps, the cap surrounded by a coronet, and hold a sword in their right hand, while the scale is too small or the engraving too bad to show whether they have a ring or not. The choice of Rothesay as the place whence Prince David took his title is merely an evidence of the affection which this family seem always to have felt for the Firth of Clyde, and probably upon his own part for Rothesay in particular.

The business sittings at Perth occupied most of the week. And there is then, as far as my reading has extended, an almost perfect blank as to the history of the Prince, and indeed of the King, for several months. According to Bower, the Queen in this year gave a great tournament in Edinburgh, at which twelve knights contended, and the Duke of Rothesay took the leading part. It was held in what we should now call the Prince's Street Gardens, on the spot afterwards occupied by the North Loch. I have met with nothing to point conclusively to the date of this entertainment; the natural period would be summer or early autumn, and I think it is probably the tournament which the *Registrum Glasguense* mentions as having been held for two days at a Michaelmas in some year about this time. The fact that it was given by the Queen seems to indicate that the King's health was even worse than usual: very

likely he was again away cruising in the Firth of Clyde, or may have been laid up at Perth. The year's accounts sent in in May, 1399, enable us to know that the Duke of Rothesay made a journey to the borders with regard to the renewal of the truce, and this may perhaps have been at the end of October or beginning of November, when there certainly were such meetings.

On November 14 we have a curious and interesting fact regarding Falkland. The Duke of Albany, to whom it belonged as Earl of Fife, on that day granted a charter there which was witnessed by the Duke of Rothesay, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen (the latter of whom was Chancellor of Scotland), the Earl of Douglas, and others. As these are the habitual companions of the King, it seems not improbable that he may have been there himself; the next mention of him is at Perth in the ensuing January. The mention of Falkland is interesting, not only on account of its tragic later connection with the subject, but because the entertainment of such a party implies buildings of extent and splendour.

The accounts above named moreover show that the Duke and his Chamberlain, John Niddry, had money difficulties.

In October the Duke had completed his twentieth year. The one contemporary writer, Wynthoun, speaks in the highest language of his talents, culture, and virtuous life, his honesty and good manners, and he possessed moreover that qualification of personal beauty which contributes so largely to enhance the popularity of Princes. In

a Parliament held at Perth upon January 27, 1399, in consequence of the continued ill-health of the King, he was created Regent, or, as it is called, King's Lieutenant, for the term of three years. He was to be assisted by a Council, consisting of his uncles, Robert, Duke of Albany, and Walter, Lord of Brechin, the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the Earls of Douglas, Ross, Moray, and Crawford, the Lord of Dalkeith, Thomas Hay the Constable and William Keith the Marischal, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Patrick Graham, Sir John Livingston, Sir William Stewart, Sir John Ramorny, Adam Forster, Abbat of Holyrood, the Archdeacon of Lothian, and Mr. Walter Forster. It was enacted that the Coronation Oath should be administered to him, and this is particularly interesting, because it is, as far as I know, the only indication of what the Scottish Mediæval Coronation Oath was. Unfortunately the record is only a translation. The words are:—

‘Ande in efter the said duc be sworne til fulfyl efter his powere all the thyngis that the Kyng in his crownyng was suorne for til do to haly Kyrke and the pupyl, syn in to the thyngis he is to ber the Kyngis power. That is to say, the fredume and the rycht of the Kirke to kepe wndamyste, the lawys and the lowablez custumes to gerre be kept to the pupil manslaerys, Reiferis, brynnneris and generally all mysdoeris thurch strynthe til restreygnhe and punyse, and specialy cursit men, heretikis, and put fra the Kyrke at the requeste of the Kyrke to restreygne.’ This is not the place to enter into a disquisition upon the history of the

Scottish Coronation Oath. I will merely say that I think that by means of this entry we may recognise the additional clause recommended by John XXI., when granting the unction to the King of Scots in 1329, and that by a comparison of the Coronation Oaths of the Kings of France and England we can at least come very near to a reconstruction of the actual text, and trace the origin of the formula, through the Pontifical of Egbert of York, to the period of the early Scottish monarchy of Dalriada.

The King was deprived by this Parliament of the power of interfering with the authority of the Lieutenant.

As I have at least mentioned the name of Sir John Ramorny, I may as well say at once that as far as I have seen any contemporary records concerning him—and they are numerous—he always appears as a man of the highest position of honour, and of probity. The picture of him drawn by Sir Walter Scott is partly based upon a story in Bower which that writer himself admits to be gossip (*‘ut dicitur’*) and partly upon imagination. He seems to have had nothing more to do with the household or person of the Duke of Rothesay than had any other minister of the Crown, except in part of one year. He died very soon after the Duke. The one year concerned is the financial one between May, 1399, and May, 1400. I have already mentioned the difficulties of John Niddry with regard to his accounts which appeared at the former of these two dates. He appears to have been suspended or to have resigned for a time his

office of Chamberlain to the Prince's household, for although he so appears in May, 1400, and subsequently to the end of the Prince's life, Sir John Ramorny appears as Chamberlain for a part of the year 1399-1400.

The Court must have moved from Perth to Edinburgh in the early part of the year, and the Exchequer Court was held in Edinburgh at the end of April and beginning of May. On May 4 the King granted a Commission to the Duke of Rothesay and others to treat with England, and on the 14th they were at Haddansdank and executed an indenture prolonging the truce till September 28, 1400. The terms between the Royal families seem to have been friendly: on May 27, Richard II. grants a passport, at the Duke of Rothesay's request, to two persons who appear as though his messengers. Later on the Court again went to the Clyde. The King visited Dunbarton and Renfrew; on August 17 he was in Arran along with the two Royal Dukes, but by the beginning of October he was at Linlithgow. It was just at this time, the end of September, that Richard II. fell, and Henry IV. assumed his place. The event seems to have made no difference in Scotland. The King received letters from the new monarch (as Duke of Lancaster) on October 3, and answered him on the 6th, as to the truce. We find him at Linlithgow along with the Dukes until the end of November, but he would seem to have gone to Perth for Christmas, as he was there on January 4.

It was in this year, 1399, that the Duke of Rothesay became engaged to be married to the

Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter of the Earl of March. And here I am obliged to warn you against an error into which you may possibly be led by reading Lingard. That eminent historian says that Henry IV. was incensed at the treatment in Scotland of the person whom it is the fashion to call Thomas Ward of Trumpington, but who was there recognised as Richard II., and that he was able to take his revenge with the help of the Earl of March, enraged at the jilting of his daughter. I own to a suspicion that Dr. Lingard has confused the dates : at any rate he has been unfortunate in his manner of expressing himself. The quarrel with the Dunbar family took place in February, 1400, and I can find no mention of the so-called Thomas Ward until about two years and a half later, nearly two years after Henry's invasion, and several months after the death of the Duke of Rothesay. The Court, as I have mentioned, was at Perth at the beginning of January. In February it had moved to Edinburgh, and a Parliament was held there in the second week of the month. It would seem that this Parliament complained that the Heir Apparent should have been engaged to be married without the approval of the Three Estates, and cancelled the engagement. On February 18 the Earl of March writes to Henry IV. a furious and treasonable letter on the subject, which it is worth while here to give at length in its original text and spelling, which are additionally interesting as showing the precise dialect then spoken at the Scottish Court and in the class of society to which the writer belonged.

‘Excellent mychty and noble Prynce, likis yhour Realte to wit that I am gretly wrangit be the Duc of Rothesay the quhilk spousit my douchter and now agayn his oblisying to me made be hys lettre and his seal and agaynes the law of halikirc spouses ane other wif as it ys said. Of the quhilk wrangis and defowle to me and my douchter in swilk manere done, I, as ane of yhour poer kyn, gif it likis yhow requere yhow of help and suppowell for swilk honest service as I may do efter my power to yhour noble lordship and to yhour lande. Fore tretee of the quhilk matere will yhe dedeyn to charge the lord the Fournivalle, ore the Erle of Westmerland at yhour likyng to the Marche, with swilk gudely haste as yhow likis, qware that I may haue spekyng with quhilk of thaim that yhe will send, and schew hym clerly myne entent, the quhilk I darre nocht discouer to nane other bot tyll ane of thaim be cause of kyn, and the grete lewtee that I traist in thaim, and as I suppose yhe traist in thaim on the tother part. Alsa noble Prynce will yhe dedeyn to graunt and to send me, yhour sauconduyt endurand quhill the fest of the natiuite of Seint John the Baptist fore a hundreth knichtis and squiers and seruantz gudes hors and hernais als wele within wallit Town as with owt, ore in qwat other reasonable manere that yhow likis fore trauaillyng and dwellyng within yhour land gif I hafe myster. And excellent Prynce syn that I clayme to be of kyn tyll yhow, and it peraventour nocht knawen on yhour parte, I schew it to yhour lordschip be this my lettre that gif dame Alice the Bewmount was yhour graunde dame, dame

Mariory Comyne hyrre full sister was my graunde dame on the tother syde, sa that I am bot of the feirde degre of kyn tyll yhow, the quhilk in alde tyme was callit neire, and syn I am in swilk degre tyll yhow I requere yhow as be way of tendirness thare of, and for my seruice in manere as I hafe before writyn, that yhe will vouchesauf tyll help me and suppowell me tyll gete amendes of the wrangis and the defowle that ys done me, sendand tyll me gif yhow likis yhour answeire of this, With all gudely haste, And noble Prynce mervaille yhe nocht that I write my lettres in englis, fore that ys mare clere to myne vnderstandyng than latyne ore Fraunche. Excellent mychty and noble Prynce, the haly Trinite hafe yhow euermare in kepyng. Writyn at my castel of Dunbarr the xvij day of Feuerer.

‘LE COUNT DE LA MARCHE DESCOCE.

‘Au tresexcellent trespuissant et tresnoble
Prince le Roy Dengleterre.’

Henry IV. instantly sent the Earl a passport to come to England, and entered into negotiations with him.

Meanwhile the Scottish Court returned to Linlithgow. The person selected as the bride of the Prince was the lady Mary Douglas, daughter of Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, and sister of Archibald, afterwards fourth Earl, who was already the Duke's brother-in-law, by his marriage with the Princess Margaret. The marriage was publicly celebrated in the existing Church of Bothwell, which was then new and owed its existence to the

bride's father. There were great festivities on the occasion, and I conjecture that the date may have been the last week of April, the only one which intervened between the Lenten and Easter period and the month of May. I have never come across any mention of the Duchess of Rothesay during the life of her husband.

This may perhaps be the best place to remark that Bower accuses the Prince of having jilted another person besides the Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, namely, Euphemia Lindsay, sister of William Lindsay of Rossie, and daughter of Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk. If so, the lady must have been much younger than her brother. The statement is entirely without contemporary historical support. If it is true, I can only observe of it, as of the matter of Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, that the marriages of Princes are made so much an affair of public policy (as was indeed the case with the Duke of Rothesay) that their feelings are often disregarded, and they are not so justly open as are other men to the charge of inconstancy. At the worst the meaning would be that the young Prince was rather a flirt before his marriage. Of profligacy, either before or after marriage, there is not a scrap of evidence. The accusation of Bower himself is one not of debauchery but of frivolity, until either he or, as I think, some later editor of his, possessed by the spirit of prurience, suddenly breaks into the hypothetical quotation of a beastly Latin triplet. As to the frivolity, I venture to observe that up to the age of 23 and even later, a certain amount of vivacity is not only natural but desir-

able, and that all the contemporary evidence there is tends to show that the tastes of the Prince were for business and in the direction of literary culture rather than of mere pastimes, and certainly not a line can be produced to show that he ever sacrificed the former to the latter. As for profligacy, there is not a contemporary word to support the charge, and had it been true, I can hardly understand a strait-laced ecclesiastic like Wyntoun, the only contemporary writer, going out of his way deliberately to lie by praising the Prince's virtuous life.

The Court was in Edinburgh in May when the usual meeting of the Exchequer was held, and afterwards returned to Linlithgow. The Royal Dukes were there as usual with the King in June. Meanwhile the usual interminable correspondence and squabbles with England were going on. Henry IV. was probably not unwilling to have some excuse for upsetting the truce, and the disturbances upon the Borders supplied many such. He determined to invade Scotland, and summoned an army at York, where he himself arrived about midsummer: a month later he was at Newcastle. He finally entered Scotland on August 14. King Robert seems to have been sent to the Clyde, to keep him out of harm's way. The Duke of Rothesay threw himself into Edinburgh Castle, along with his brother-in-law, who was its governor. The invasion was a very harmless matter. Henry IV. reached Haddington on August 15, and stayed there three days, and was at Leith, where he also stayed three days, on the 22nd. The war was

conducted with great mildness, and when the Canons of Holyrood sent to beg that they might not be disturbed, Henry not only granted the request, but declared (in striking anticipation of some more modern statesmen) that he himself was indeed half a Scotchman by blood. At Leith he wrote a rather stupid letter in answer to one of the Duke of Rothesay's, in which it seems that the Prince, probably remembering the Battle of the Clans, had proposed to fight him along with 100, 200, or 300 chosen troops. The offer can hardly have been meant seriously, and was of course refused. Henry immediately left Scotland: he was at Newcastle on September 3.

On his departure, the Duke of Rothesay immediately joined his father on the Clyde. The King had been at Rothesay on September 5. He was with his son and brother at Irvine on the 12th, and at Renfrew, with the whole of his usual little Court, on October 5. There is nothing to show that they did not remain in the same part of the country over the New Year, for it was at Rothesay on January 12 that the King, in presence of this familiar group, and very probably at the solicitation of the Prince, erected that town into a Royal Burgh. On Christmas Eve the Duke's father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, died at Threave.

After leaving Rothesay the King came to Perth, and a Parliament was held at Scone at the end of February at which both the Royal Dukes were present. At the end of March the King was at Aberdeen, where he may be supposed to have stayed over Easter (April 3), and on April 29 he

was at Dunfermline with his brother, but not his eldest son. The Exchequer Court was held at Perth at the end of May. In June an important event, the death of Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, took place. I have met with no record of the date, but as Wyntoun mentions that the Chapter elected his successor upon July 1, and as an account mentioning payments to him by the customars of St. Andrews, in which there is no mention of his having died, was given in upon June 7, it would appear that his death must have taken place in the middle fortnight of the month. The position of the Church of St. Andrews considerably affected the future of Duke David. The death of the Bishop was followed by another which affected him still more deeply, namely, that of his mother, the Queen Annabella Drummond. I have seen no record of the date, but Wyntoun says that it was in harvest, which points to August or September. Bower says that she died at Scone, and the accounts make mention of her expenses at Perth before her death. She was not, however, buried at Scone, but at Dunfermline, very likely from a wish of her own to lie near her sainted predecessor Margaret. It is only natural to suppose that her husband and son were with her during her last illness and at her death and burial. The conclusion is that the Court was at Perth almost continuously in this year 1401, from February to September. Of the King there is no further trace until the beginning of March, 1402, when he appears at Portincross, and my conjecture is that after his bereavement he returned to his beloved

Firth of Clyde, and there remained till after the death of his son. He is mentioned as having been in Bute.

The career of the Duke of Rothesay must have been somewhat different. At some time in the year, though it is impossible to say when, he was engaged in the siege of the Castle of Reres. Much light is thrown upon the causes of the resistance of Sir John Wemyss by the recently printed *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss* of that Ilk. It was a matter really concerning the Duke of Albany, which it would be useless, if it were possible, to go into here. It will be remembered that his Lieutenancy of the Kingdom was to expire upon January 27, 1402. The accounts rendered at the Exchequer Court at Aberdeen in July, 1402, three months after his death, and covering the period from June, 1401, thus embracing the last nine months of his life, and the last seven of his Regency, contain four curious entries with regard to his last acts, which show the extremities to which he was driven by a misplaced economy in stinting his resources and at the same time loading him with the most costly labour, and indicate, as I venture to think, that this was the final cause which led to his earthly end being enveloped in obscurity. One of these is a sum of £52 13s. 4d. (say, over £1,000 of our money) which the customars of Perth stated that they had paid at the Duke's order: the Commissioners of the Exchequer seem to acknowledge that such order as alleged would have been sufficient but that the proof of its existence is insufficient, and that the

King is to be consulted. In other words, this order, if it ever existed, must have been given before January 27, 1402. Another is of two sums of £10 and £20 respectively (say £600 or £700 of our money) taken from the customars of Edinburgh, as to which the Commissioners have satisfied themselves that it was taken while the Duke had a right to do so, viz., before January 27. This entry has an especial interest because it shows the Duke to have been in Edinburgh within a few months before his death, and confirms the story of Bower that being not long before his death staying in Edinburgh Castle, and gazing at a great comet which was then visible, he remarked that he had heard from astrologers that such a phenomenon heralds the death of Princes. The history of this comet is very interesting in itself, and the story of Bower may throw some light upon the details of the last weeks of the Prince's life. I applied to Professor Grant, of Glasgow, for information, and, with the courtesy which is habitual to him, he supplied me with what notes he could, especially from the great work upon comets by the French astronomer Pingré. This comet was among the most remarkable recorded, and shares with a few others the distinction of having been visible to the naked eye not only in full daylight but even when near to the sun. It first became visible upon February 8, reached its maximum of brilliance upon March 21 (a few days before the Prince's death), and afterwards ceased to be visible at night, though it was seen for eight days more in the day, with much

diminished splendour. If therefore it is true that the Prince observed it from Edinburgh Castle, he must have been in Edinburgh Castle after February 8. That being in Edinburgh he should have gone to the Castle to stay with his brother-in-law the Governor is exceedingly natural, and seems to be in itself almost a sufficient refutation of the prurient fiction by which modern writers are fond, in the teeth of all the known facts, of accusing him of a marital infidelity which had alienated him from his wife's family. The third case is one in which John Tyndall, customar of Montrose, had paid £24 (say £560 of our money) to the deputy of the Duke of Albany as Chamberlain of Scotland, and the Prince had imprisoned the customar in question until he paid it to him again. The ground of this act doubtless was some disputed point as to the question to whom the money had really been payable, and seems to fix the date after January 27. The last instance is that of John Mortimer, a customar of Dundee, who assured the Commissioners that the Duke had taken £71 4s. 9d. (say £1500 of our money) from him by force. All this shows that the Duke in his last months was in great pecuniary straits, that he had been at Edinburgh as well as Perth, and that subsequently to the expiry of his Lieutenancy of the Kingdom on January 27, 1402, he was at Montrose and Dundee trying to obtain money.

It is still in connection with these monetary difficulties that I now turn to the condition of the See of St. Andrews, the facts as to which are closely bound up with those of the Duke of Rothesay's

last days. On the demise of Bishop Trail the whole temporalities of the See, as a feu from the Crown to an *ex officio* feuar who, as such, had no hereditary successor, reverted into the hands of the Crown as feudal superior. This was the ordinary rule, and it naturally happened that impecunious Governments were not always very anxious in such cases that the See should be immediately filled up. In this case the Chapter, upon July 1, 1401, had elected as successor to Walter Trail, Thomas Stuart, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, a meek man, whose most distinctive merit probably was that he was the bastard half-brother of the King and of the Duke of Albany, the latter of whom at least was much attached to him. William Nory, the Sub-prior of the Cathedral Priory, was immediately despatched to Avignon to obtain the Bull for Consecration. The moment was peculiar. The Great Schism was raging, and Peter de Luna or Benedict XIII., whichever you like to call him, was at one of the lowest ebbs of his very varying fortunes. Scotland alone seems to have adhered to him quite faithfully, and her support was not worth much. The French Government could hardly, even in common decency, abandon and persecute him, but they put the strongest pressure upon him to cause him to abdicate, which he, in that clear, eloquent Latin of which he must be owned to have been a master, firmly and consistently refused to do. His Cardinals deserted him, and the army of the Marshal Boucicaut beleaguered his palatial fortress, without actually daring to assault it. The siege can-

not have been very close, or, during the space of nearly five years for which it lasted, he would have been cut off from communication with the outer world, and ultimately compelled by famine to surrender. But great delay in transacting business was necessarily produced. William Nory however in time obtained the Bull and returned. Here, however, there arose a fresh obstacle. The custody of the Castle of Dunbarton had become nearly, if not absolutely, hereditary in the family of Danielston, and the fortress was now in the possession of a certain priest, Walter Danielston, whom I take to have been probably the eldest son of Sir Robert Danielston, who had died in 1396 or 1397. He was not distinguished for the virtues which ought to adorn the clerical state, but the Government wished to obtain possession of the castle, and when he proposed to surrender it upon being created Bishop of St. Andrews, the Duke of Albany closed with the offer, persuaded his half-brother Thomas to forego his rights, and obtained a fresh election from the Chapter, in which, according to Wyntoun, voters were induced to act against their own consciences. It must be added, in justice to Benedict XIII., among whose faults inconsistency cannot be charged, that he would never consent, and Walter Danielston died unconsecrated at Christmas, 1402. He had, however, been inducted into the temporalities in the preceding summer, probably in May.

How far this extraordinary negotiation had progressed in the early months of the year it is impossible to say, but it must have been in hand.

The temporalities of St. Andrews were vacant and in the hands of the Crown, and the whole question of the succession to the See was in a state of confusion and uncertainty. As to the Duke of Rothesay, we have here to fall back upon Bower, but his statements are largely supported by known facts. It occurred or was suggested to the impecunious Prince that he would act wisely in taking possession of the temporalities. There can be no doubt that in determining to do so, he must have argued that he would be not only relieving his own necessities by a justifiable use of the property of the Crown, but would also, by impeding the abominable Danielston intrigue, be rendering a real service to the Church, a matter as to which, as is evident from the records of payments to ecclesiastical objects made by his command, he was anything but indifferent. It is, however, easy to imagine the feelings with which the persons then conducting the Government must have heard of his intention. His exactions at the custom-houses must have been already almost intolerable. His proposed seizure of the temporalities of St. Andrews, which would moreover have paralysed all the negotiations for obtaining the Castle of Dunbarton, could not be borne, and his uncle and brother-in-law placed him under restraint. It is one of the statements of Bower that this arrest took place in obedience to an instruction from the King. This is clearly false. The Royal document of May 20, which declares that the Prince's death had proceeded solely from natural causes, expressly lays upon the Duke of Albany

and the Earl of Douglas, along with their accomplices, the whole responsibility for the act of placing him under restraint, to which they represent themselves as having been driven by motives of public policy, and grants them a complete pardon for it, while mentioning the indignation which the King had felt upon the subject. Bower's statement is simply irreconcilable with this document.

According to Bower, the arrest was effected by William Lindsay of Rossie and John Ramorny, as the Prince was on his way to the Castle of St. Andrews, very slightly attended. The place was between Nydie and Strathtyrum, that is, very near St. Andrews itself, and the *Liber Pluscardensis* adds that it was close to the great cross. I cannot identify this place. Perhaps it was one of the 12 crosses which traditionally bounded the τέμενος or Holy Girth of the Apostle. The Royal prisoner was first taken to the Castle of St. Andrews, which his uncle had thus been beforehand with him in occupying, and which it is even possible may have already been placed in the hands of Danielston. Bower says that Albany and Douglas now held a meeting at Culross, where they discussed the most expedient step to take, and that in consequence they removed the Duke under a strong guard to Falkland. The language of Bower seems to mean that his uncle and brother-in-law went with him in person : he adds that the Prince was mounted on a pack-horse, and wrapped in a large reddish-brown cloak like that of a servant. He was taken to the Tower at Falkland, and

lodged in a 'befitting chamber.' This tower seems to have formed the most prominent feature of the building at the time, and is mentioned as a sort of synonymous term along with 'manor' to designate the whole residence, till a considerably later period. The new buildings mentioned in the accounts for 1468-9 appear to have changed the character of the place and thrown the tower into the background. The last notice of it which I have observed, is for the repair of its roof just fifty years after the Duke of Rothesay's death, viz., in the year 1461-2, and in the accounts for the year 1472-3, the word 'Palace' appears. I was naturally anxious to find any remains of this tower, which had totally disappeared. In excavating in the garden to the north of the standing portions of the Palace, we found the remains of the original enclosing wall, and in the north-east angle a part of a round tower over fifty feet in diameter, retaining a small portion of the ornamental string-course, which shows it to be of about the thirteenth century. In its centre is the well, sunk in the rock. The plan of this part of the buildings it is possible to surmise with a very high degree of probability, from the parallel buildings which remain in a more perfect condition at Bothwell Castle and elsewhere. This great tower with its high pointed roof must have been the main feature of the early group of buildings, and a prominent feature in the landscape for many miles round. Its great size implies truly noble rooms. I cannot doubt that it is the structure to which the Duke of Rothesay was carried, and that the

befitting chamber in which he was lodged was some apartment or apartments in it befitting the rank of the captive. Even Bower, late as he is, seems never to have heard of the subterranean cell of more modern romancers.

In a short time it was announced that the Prince had died of dysentery. If the statement of Bower that the waning of the comet instantly followed the Prince's imprisonment be true, that imprisonment can have lasted only a few days, since the comet reached its maximum brilliancy on Tuesday, March 21, but I must say that I think this can hardly have been the case.

The assertions as to the day of his death vary. The *Registrum Glasguense* says it was March 1. The *Liber Pluscardensis* gives April 7. Bower says that he died during the night between Saturday the 25th and Easter Sunday, the 26th of March, but that it was not known whether before or after midnight. If this be really true, it argues a most singular secrecy as to his imprisonment, which is suspiciously harmonious with the story of his disguise during his journey to Falkland, and the startling circumstances of unusual place and at least possible privacy of detail which attended his funeral. Wyntoun gives Monday, March 27, and may, I conceive, be right, at any rate as the ecclesiastical reckoning of the evening and the morning making the day, would make March 27 commence at sunset on March 26. The *Regis rum Glasguense* must, I think, be wrong. The *Liber Pluscardensis* may, I think, be misled by the fact

that March 26 is vii. kk. Aprilis, or it may mean that the funeral was upon April 7.

The natural course with regard to his funeral would have been to take his body for burial to Dunfermline, there to lie beside that of his own mother and those of so many of his kingly ancestors. On the contrary, it was taken to Lindores, where there had never been any Royal interments. The only item with regard to his funeral expenses is one of £2 1s. 4d. in the Perth accounts. Even allowing that about £50 worth of our money is meant, I can hardly bring myself to believe that the ceremony was conducted upon a scale so mean.

The most sinister rumours regarding the cause of his death at once became current. Parliament sat in Edinburgh in May, and the matter was discussed and more or less sifted. On May 20 the King published the following document :—

‘ Robert by the grace of God King of Scots unto all unto whose knowledge this present letter shall come [wisheth] everlasting health in the Lord : for as much as our dearly beloved Robert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Menteith, our brother, and Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, our son-in-law, by reason of our daughter whom he hath taken to wife, did lately cause our most illustrious son David our first-born, the late Duke of Rothesay and Earl of Carrick and Athole, to be taken and put under personal restraint, and first warded in the Castle of St. Andrews, and then to be kept in ward at Falkland, where he is

shown to have passed from this light by the Providence of God and not otherwise. The which [Robert and Archibald] compearing in our presence in our General Council begun at Edinburgh upon the 16th day of the month of May in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and two, and continued for some days [thereafter], and being interrogated upon this matter by our royal authority, or accused [therein], and avowing the taking, restraining, and death as above mentioned, did in our presence set forth the causes which did thereunto move them, as they declared, for the public weal, the which causes we judge not to be inserted herein : and thereupon diligent inquisition having been made thereon, and all and everything touching this matter to be herein considered having been so considered, and the mature deliberation of our Council having been had upon the matters discussed, we hold excused the aforesaid Robert our brother, and Archibald our son-in-law, and their accomplices whomsoever herein, that is, in restraining, keeping, warding, counselling, and all others giving them counsel, to wit, help or favour, or obeying their orders or commands howsoever ; yea, and in our aforesaid Council we have openly and publicly declared, pronounced and decreed, and by the tenour of this present, we do declare, pronounce, and by this our definite sentence do define that they and any one of them are innocent, harmless, faultless, at peace, free, and safe, utterly and anyhow, of any crime against our Majesty, or of any crime, fault, injury, blame, or offence whatsoever which might be anywise imputed to them by

occasion of the aforesaid matters : and if we have anyhow conceived against them, or any of them, man or woman, one or more, who have anyhow taken part in this thing, or anyhow cleaven unto them, any anger, wrath, blame or offence, we do of our own free will, of our own knowledge and also from the deliberation of our Council already named, annul, put away the same, and will it be annulled for ever. Wherefore we do strictly ordain and command unto all and every our subjects of whatsoever state or condition they be, that neither by word nor deed do they impute blame to Robert and Archibald oftentimes aforesaid or to them who took part, consented, or clave unto them in this thing, or whisper anything against them whatsoever whereby their good fame may be wounded or any prejudice begotten against them, under every punishment which the law can therein inflict.

‘ Given under witness of our Great Seal in the Monastery of the Holy Rood of Edinburgh upon the 20th day of the month of May aforesaid, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and two, and of our reign the thirteenth.’

It is an ominous proverb that imprisoned Princes do not live long. And when we ask the usual question, the answer of which points to the author of a crime, Who profitted by it? the answer undoubtedly is, His uncle, in whose house he died. On the other hand, the motive with the brother-in-law would have been all the other way, but he again, although an accomplice in the arrest, might have known nothing of the murder, if murder there were. It may be suggested that a chill

caught upon the journey might have resulted in death—that a Lenten diet of stock fish, salt herrings, and oatmeal would not have tended to health—that starvation at least is a slow and improbable mode of assassination—and that the moment of Easter is not one which superstition, even if there were no question of religion, would have been likely to select for the crime. Of the two persons named by Bower as his keepers, John Selkirk was certainly in the Royal employment from 1384 to 1389, when he probably entered that of the Duke of Albany, and the other, John Wright of Falkland, was certainly customar of Kinghorn under Albany at least from 1411 to 1420, and perhaps received other favours, as the name is not an uncommon one, and it is not always clear which particular person is meant. Of the persons who effected the arrest, William Lindsay was certainly afterwards in high favour with Albany, and when John Ramorny died soon after Rothesay, Albany settled a pension upon his widow. But this means nothing more than would have been clear anyhow, viz., that they were Albany's trusted friends and servants. My own impression is that the truth as to the cause of the Duke of Rothesay's death is and must remain uncertain. I have only put together these few notes in the hope that, by at least a certain number of hard facts, I may combat a most pernicious tradition to which Sir Walter Scott unhappily lent the support of his genius, and may do, and perhaps induce others to do, an act of justice not only to the truth of history but also to the memory of an unfortunate lad.

BRENDAN'S FABULOUS VOYAGE.

[*A Lecture delivered on January 19, 1893, before the Scottish Society of Literature and Art.*]

BRENDAN, the son of Finnlogh O' Alta, was born at Tralee in Kerry, in the year 481 or 482.¹ He had a pedigree which connected him with the rulers of Ireland, and thus perhaps secured for him a social prominence which he would not otherwise have enjoyed. Nature seems to have endowed him with an highly wrought and sensitive temperament. Putting aside altogether the idealism which caused him, like so many others of his time and race, to give himself to the Church, he displayed throughout life a restlessness which led him to constant journeys, sometimes of the nature of migrations, and the constant inception of projects to which he did not continue long to adhere ; and in the statements about him there are elements from which I conjecture that he was probably of the class of persons who furnish good subjects for hypnotic experiments. When he was a year old he was handed over to the care of the nun Ita, when she dwelt at the foot of Mount Luachra. With her he remained until he was

¹ Reeve's *Adamnan*, 221.

seven years old, when she sent him to Bishop Erc, by whom he had been baptized, but during the whole of her life, which lasted nearly as long as his own, he never ceased to regard and to treat her with all the affectionate reverence of a son. His education was continued under Erc, until he grew towards manhood, when he visited other parts of Ireland for the sake of study, but it was to Erc that he returned to be ordained to the Presbyterate. At that period there was a sort of passion among the Celtic clergy for retiring into deserts after the manner of the monks and hermits of Egypt, and the islands of the Western and Northern ocean, if they could show nothing like the burning sands of Africa, supplied deserts enough of a different sort. It was only in accordance then with a common custom of his day, that Brendan, after his ordination, set out by sea with a few companions, to find a place where to found a monastery. It is to be remarked also that this was just about the time of the migration of the Royal Race of the Dalriads to the country which has ultimately received from them the name of Scotland, and the project therefore bears a strong resemblance to that in which Columba succeeded about 60 years later. If Brendan had not failed, perhaps Columba would not have come. The wanderings or explorations of Brendan and his companions appear to have lasted several years, during which it may be presumed that they were in the habit of laying up somewhere for the winter. It was doubtless partly owing to the restlessness which was a part of his nature,

that he finally settled nowhere, and returned to Ireland.

In Ireland he did a good deal of work, but Ita urged him to try and do good elsewhere, and he went over with some of his friends to Britain, possibly in connection with movements affected by the career of the historic Arthur, who was killed at Camlan or Camelon in 537. The Christian Irish at that time certainly made endeavours to assist the Christian party among the Britons. The nun Edana was making her attempts, either in person or by her disciples, to found her girls' schools in the south of Scotland, and it is not impossible that Ita thought that she might also accomplish some good by sending forth a male emissary. In connection with Brendan's sojourn in Britain, there is a most curious mention of the use of a Greek Liturgy somewhere in the British Church. There is a statement that Brendan was at the head of the celebrated Welsh monastery of Llancarfan. He also went over to Brittany, to see Gildas the Wise, who was bewailing the woes of his native land on the shores of the Morbihan. He ultimately returned to the Western Islands, and there succeeded at last in founding two monastic settlements, one in Tiree, at a place which the writers call Bledua, and one in an island called Ailech, which it seems to me may possibly mean Islay. Then he went back to Ireland, and started another monastery in a desert island in Loch Oisbsen, which was given to him by Aedh, the son of Ethdach. Hence, however, he again moved in 559, and founded the great monastery of Clon-

fert, an act which is the principal achievement of his life.

He was friendly with the principal persons of his own race, time, and class. He seems, as I have said, to have possessed the peculiar temperament, which some call sensitive and others mediumistic, and which leads to the phenomenon generally known as second-sight, for, putting aside all other records about him which point in the same direction, it is recorded of him, not only by Adamnan, but also by Cuimine the Fair, that on one occasion when he came over, along with Comgall of Benchor, Kenneth of Aghaboe, and Cormac o' Leathain of Durrow, to visit Columba, who was then staying in Himba (Eilean na Naoimh, one of the Garveloch islands, lying between Scarba and Mull), and Columba at their request celebrated before them on the Sunday, he afterwards told Comgall and Kenneth that during part of the ceremony Columba had seemed to him to be standing at the bottom of a pillar of fire streaming heavenwards.

He lived to an extreme old age, and was in his 96th year when the end came. When he felt that it was at hand, he went to see his sister Briga, and I quote the sentences which follow, on account of the quaint naturalism which inspires them. 'Among other things, he taught her concerning the place of her resurrection. "Not here," saith he unto her, "shalt thou rise again, but in thine own land, that is, in Tralee. Therefore, go thou thither, for that people will obtain the mercy of God by thy means. This is a place of men, not of

women. Now is God calling me unto Himself out of the prison house of this body." When she heard that, she was grievously afflicted, and said, "Father beloved, we shall all die at thy death. For which of us could live when thou wast absent living? Much less, when thou art dead." Brendan said farther, "On the third day hence, I shall go the way of my fathers." Now that day was the Lord's Day. Thereon, after the sacraments of the altar had been offered, he saith to them that stood by, "In your supplications, commend my going forth." And Briga speaketh and saith, "Father, what fearest thou?" He saith, "I fear that I shall journey alone, that the way will be dark—I fear the unknown country, the presence of the King, the sentence of the Judge." After these things he commanded the brethren to carry his body to the monastery of Clonfert secretly, lest, if they did it openly, it should be kept by them among whom they should pass. Then when he had kissed them all one by one, he saith unto holy Briga, "Salute my friends on my behalf, and say unto them to beware of evil speaking, even when it is true, how much the more when it is false." When he had so spoken and foretold how some things would be in time to come, he passed into everlasting rest, in the 96th year of his age.' He died, May 16, 577.

By combining with all the collected and credible statements concerning him illustrative matter from the history of his times and the biographies of his contemporaries, it would no doubt be possible to write a life of Brendan, which would be both of

considerable bulk and of considerable interest. But there would be nothing particularly startling or striking about it. Apart from the interest of public events contemporary with his long career, the monotonous variety produced by his vagabond nature, and such psychical interest as might possibly attach to stories of his mediumistic temperament, it would be rather hum-drum. Brendan, however, has had the ill luck to be selected by some unknown antient Irish novelist as the hero of a romance of the wildest kind, which has certainly spread his name, if not his fame, in quarters which in all his travels he could never have anticipated. Even in the Canary Islands, the natives apply the term 'Isla de San Borondon' to a peculiar effect like mirage, showing a shadowy presentiment of land, which is sometimes seen off their coasts. His character as an hero of romance, somewhat of the type of Sinbad the Sailor, if not of that of Gulliver, has even injured him as a subject of serious study. There has been a sort of custom, to which may be applied a celebrated phrase of Newman, 'aged but not venerable,' of confounding the hero of the romance with the real man. It would be just as proper to identify the hero of the *Pickwick Papers* with a certain Mr. Pickwick, whom it was, oddly enough, the duty of one of Dickens' sons to call as a witness in an English law-suit not many years ago. Even Homer sometimes nods—at least according to the critics, of whose opinion Lucian credits him with so low an estimation—and the great Bollandists had their historical equanimity—much as experience must have already taught it

to bear—so upset by the brilliancy of the fable that they have omitted to print the real life at all, a life which is, at the worst, no more startling than a good many with which they have enriched their pages—*e.g.*, those of Patrick, Brigid, and Columba—and after a denunciation of what their authorities call the *vana, fictaque vel apocrypha deliramenta*, ‘the silly, lying, or apocryphal ravings,’ simply proceed to give a compilation of isolated notices drawn from a variety of different sources.

Prof. O’ Curry, in his *Lectures on the M.S. Material of Ancient Irish History*, page 289, mentions four ancient Irish romances in the form of voyages, of which the voyage of Brendan is one. He gives an epitome of that of the sons of Ua Corra, which seems at least in parts to be almost equally wild. But that of Brendan has certainly been the most popular. M. Achille Jubinal, who edited one Latin and two French translations of it, says that it also exists in Irish, Welsh, Spanish, English, and Anglo-Norman. The Spanish, English, and Anglo-Norman I have never read, and of the Welsh I have never heard. Of the Latin I once made a complete translation from the Latin text published by Jubinal, but I have lost it, and have had to do the work again so far as necessary for the present lecture. I remember, however, that from several features, I came to the conclusion that the Latin text was a translation from Irish, and the Irish text must present considerable variants, as Dr. Todd in his book on *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, page 460, cites from ‘An Irish Life of St. Brendan,’ but which must evidently be

the fabulous voyage, four incidents, of which one is about the finding of a dead mermaid, another about one of the voyagers being devoured alive by sea-cats, and a third about an huge sea-cat as large as an ox which swam after them to destroy them, until another sea-monster rose up and fought with the cat, and both were drowned, none of which incidents occur in the Latin. However, to the Latin version my defective knowledge must confine me, and there is enough of it for one lecture, and to spare. I may, however, say that by the Latin text I do not here mean only the text published by Jubinal. The present Bollandists were good enough, some years ago, to edit for me the 'Codex Salmanticensis,' which contains both the romance and the Life, and I find in the romance serious divergences from the text given by Jubinal; they are of a kind which, in my judgment, stamp it beyond all doubt as a later and corrupt edition, but I have largely compared the texts, although not word for word.

Well, I am now going to deal with the 'silly, lying, or apocryphal ravings.' The romance relates that on one occasion when Brendan was in a place called the Thicket, there came to him a man called Barint O'Neil, of the race of King Neil of IX. Hostages. This man told him that his disciple Marnock had left him, and founded an hermitage of his own in an island called Delightsome, whither he himself afterwards went to visit him. While he was there, they were one day together upon the shore, where there was a small boat, and then, to translate the precise words, 'he

said unto me, "Father, go up into the ship, and let us sail westward unto the island which is called the Land of Promise of the Saints, which God will give unto them that come after us in the latter time." We went up into the ship therefore, and clouds covered us all round about us, so that hardly could we see the stern or the prow of the ship. After the space, as it were, of one hour, a great light shone round about us, and there appeared a land wide and grassy, and very fruitful. And when the ship was come to land, we went out, and began to go about, and to walk through that land for fifteen days, and we could not find the end thereof. We saw there no plant without a flower, and no tree without fruit, and all the stones thereof are precious stones. And upon the fifteenth day we found a river running from the west eastward. And when we considered all these things, we doubted what we should do. We were fain to pass over the river, but we waited for counsel from God. While we discussed thus between us, of a sudden there appeared before us a man in great brightness, who called us by our names and saluted us, saying, "It is well done, good brethren, for the Lord hath revealed unto you that land which He will give unto his Saints. For it is an half of the island up to this river; but unto you it is not given to pass over. Go back therefore whence ye are come." When he said thus, we asked him whence he was, and by what name he was called. And he said unto me, "Why dost thou ask me whence I am? and by what name I am called? Why dost thou not rather ask as to this island?

For even as thou seest it now, so doth it remain since the beginning of the world. Hast thou any need of meat or drink? Hast thou been overcome of sleep, or hath night covered thee? Know therefore of a surety: there is alway day here without blindness or shadow of darkness. For our Lord Jesus Christ is the light thereof, and if men had not done against the commandment of God, they would have remained in the loveliness of this land." When we heard it, we were turned to weeping, and when we were rested, we straightway took our journey, and the man aforesaid came with us even to the shore where our ship was. But when we got us up into the ship, the man was taken away from our eyes, and we came into the darkness aforesaid, and unto the Isle Delight-some.' Barint goes on to relate his conversation with Marnock's disciples, and how they told him that they often knew by the fragrance of Marnock's garments, when he had been away from them for a while and returned, that he had been in that garden of God, where, as it is expressed, 'night gathereth not, nor day endeth . . . for the angels of God keep it.'

Incited by this narrative, Brendan proposed to some of his disciples to set out in search of the Land of Promise, and after fasting for forty days for three days at a time, they finally embarked from the neighbourhood of Tralee. There is a very curious description of the *corach*¹ or skin-boat in

¹ After the manner of the antient Celts, but which is not, I believe, altogether extinct either in the Highlands or in Ireland, and of which I remember having seen one once in actual use in Wales.

which they embarked. It was, it is stated, 'very light, with ribs and posts of wicker, as the use is in those parts, and they covered it with the hides of cattle, dyed reddish in oak-bark, and they smeared all the seams of the ship without ; and they took provisions for forty days, and butter for dressing hides for the covering of the ship, and the other things which are useful for the life of man.' Two of the MSS. add (and are justified by subsequent passages) :—' They set up a mast in the middle of the ship, and a sail, and the rest of the gear for steering.' The voyagers were fourteen in number besides Brendan, but at the last moment three other brethren came and entreated to be taken, saying that if they were left where they were, they would die of hunger and thirst. Brendan consents, but predicts that while one of them would come to a good end, two would come to a bad.

They set off in the direction of the summer solstice, by which must, I think, be meant the northerly western point where the sun sets in summer, and are forty days at sea—it will be noticed that the periods in this story are nearly always of forty days. At the end of this time they come to a very high and rocky island, with streams falling down the cliffs into the sea. They search for a landing-place for three days, and then find a narrow harbour, between steep walls of rock. On landing, they are met by a dog, which they follow to a town or fort, but see no inhabitants. They go into a great hall set with couches and seats, and find water prepared for washing the feet. The walls are hung with vessels of divers kinds of

metal, and bridles, and horns mounted with silver. Brendan warns the brethren against theft, especially the three who had come last. They find a table laid, and spread with very white bread and fish. They eat and lie down to sleep. In the night Brendan sees a fiend in the shape of an Ethiopian child tempting one of the three last comers with a silver bridle. In the morning they find the table again spread, and so remain for three days and nights. Then they prepare to leave, and Brendan denounces one of the brethren as a thief. On this the guilty brother draws the silver bridle out of his breast, and cries out, 'Father, I have sinned : forgive it, and pray for my soul that it perish not.' The devil is cast out, but the brother dies and is buried on the island. As they are on the point of embarking, a lad brings them a basket of bread and a vessel (*amphora*) of water, which he gives to them with a blessing.

They start again upon the ocean, and are carried hither and thither, eating once every two days. At last, on Maundy Thursday, they reach another island, where are many abundant springs full of fish, and flocks of white sheep as large as cattle, sometimes so thick as to conceal the earth. There they remain until the morning of the Eve of Easter, when they take, and apparently kill and dress, one sheep and one lamb without blemish. The reference is evidently to an identity of custom with that which still prevails in all the southern countries of Europe, of preparing the flesh of a lamb on Holy Saturday, in honour of the Paschal Lamb, which flesh is blessed on the Saturday, and used to break

the fast of Lent on the next day.¹ When all is ready there comes to them a man with a basket of bread baken on the coals—evidently meaning Pass-over bread. This man now becomes a regular although occasional feature in the narrative, and is called their provider (*procurator*). He foretells their journey for some time, and how they will be until a week after Pentecost in a place which is called the *Eden of Birds*.

Thus furnished, they go to an island close by, which he has pointed out to them as the place where they are to remain until the following noon. This island is destitute of grass, and with but scanty vegetation, and there is no sand upon its shores. All goes well until the next day, when they light a fire to boil the pot, whereupon the island becomes restive, and finally sinks into the sea, although they all manage to escape into the ship. ““Brethren,” saith Brendan, “ye wonder at that which this island hath done.” “Father,” say they, “we wonder sorely, and great dread hath taken hold upon us.” He said unto them, “Little children, be not afraid, for God hath this night shown unto me the secret of this thing. Where we have been was not an island but the first fish of all that swim in the ocean, and he seeketh ever to bring his tail unto his mouth, but he cannot, because of his length. Jasconius is his name.”’

¹ In Italy at least, in order as far as possible to combine the strict fast of the Saturday with a fulfilment of the words of Ex. xii. 8, ‘And they shall eat the flesh in that night.’ It is usual to have an image of a lamb in sugar or other confectionary, which is also blessed during the day, and eaten at supper.

This is the only incident in the whole romance which is actually grotesque. But from the solemnity with which it is narrated, it is evident that it did not appear to be grotesque to the author. It seems to have taken the fancy of the early and mediæval public, and even of the iconographic public in a special degree. The word *whale* has commonly been applied to the beast, and as the same episode occurs in the story of *Sinbad the Sailor*, Jubinal has set himself to speculate how that story, or the *Arabian Nights* in which it is incorporated, came to be known in Ireland. I confess I do not agree with him. In the first place, the notion is not particularly recondite, and it has at least this possible foundation in fact, that, as I have been told by sailors, the back of a whale of advanced years, when asleep at the surface, may be and has been mistaken from some distance, greatly owing to the accretions upon it, for the top of a reef. Again, a somewhat similar notion occurs in Lucian's *Traveller's Tale*, which was much more likely to be known to the Irish fabulist. Lastly, I must observe that all this is gloss. The word *whale* (cete) is never applied to the animal but always *fish* (piscis) or *monster* (bellua) or *beast* (bestie), and the whole thing, with the notion of its vast size, and the attempt to join the tail to the mouth, which brings it into connection with the emblem of eternity, which is due, I believe, to the Phœnicians, but which we ourselves so often use upon coffins and grave-stones, seems to bring it into connection rather with the idea of the Midgard-Worm, the

great under-lying world-serpent which figures so largely in the mythic cosmogony of the Scandinavians. I suggest that this is the notion, of which the romancer may have heard from Scandinavian sources; and there is even a kind of indication that it was associated in his mind with the idea of paganism, as Brendan is made to speak elsewhere of God having made the most terrible (*immanissimam*) of beasts subject unto them.

On leaving the spot where the monster had sunk, they first returned to the provider's isle, from the top of which they perceived another near at hand, covered with grass and woods and full of flowers, and thither they went.

On the south shore of this island they found a river a little broader than the ship, and up this they towed her for a mile, when they came to the fountain-head of the stream. It was a wondrous fountain, and above it there was a tree marvellously beautiful, spreading rather than high, but all covered with white birds, so covered that they hid its foliage and branches. (The notion is perhaps taken from a tree loaded with snow.) 'And when the man of God saw it, he began to think in himself what or wherefore it should be, that such a multitude of birds should be gathered together in one place. And the thing distressed him so, that he wept, and fell down upon his knees, and besought the Lord, saying, "O God, Who knowest the things which are unknown, and makest manifest the things which are hidden, Thou knowest how that mine heart is straitened; therefore I beseech Thee that it may please Thee to make

manifest unto me, Thy sinful servant, this mystery which now I do see with mine eyes. And this I ask not for any desert of my worthiness, but in respect of Thy mercy." When he had so spoken, behold, one of the birds flew from the tree. From the ship, where the man of God was sitting, his wings sounded as with the sound of little bells. He perched upon the top of the prow, and began to spread his wings for joy, and looked kindly upon the holy father Brendan. Then the man of God, when he understood that the Lord had had regard unto his prayer, saith unto the bird, "If thou be the messenger of God, tell me whence be these birds, and wherefore they be gathered here." And it said, "We are of that great ruin of the old enemy; but we have not fallen by sinning or consenting; but we have been predestinated by the goodness and mercy of God, for wherein we were created, hath our ruin come to pass, through his fall and the fall of his crew. But God the Almighty, Who is righteous and true, hath by His judgment sent us into this place. Pains we suffer not. The presence of God in a sense we cannot see, so far hath He separated us from the company of them that stood firm. We wander through the divers parts of this world, of the sky, and of the firmament, and of the earths, even as other spirits who are sent forth [to minister]. But upon the holy days of the Lord, we take bodies such as Thou seest, and by the ordinance of God we dwell here, and praise our Maker. As for thee, thou and thy brethren are a year upon the way, and yet there await you six. And where this day thou hast

kept the Passover, there shall ye keep it every year, and afterward shalt thou find that which thou hast set in thine heart, even the land promised unto the Saints." And when the bird had so spoken, it rose from the prow, and returned unto the others. And when the hour of evening came, they all began to flap their wings, and to sing as it were with one voice, saying, "Praise waiteth for Thee, O God, in Zion, and unto Thee shall the vow be performed in Jerusalem, through our ministry." And they repeated that verse even for the space of an hour, and the song and the sound of their wings was like harmony (*carmen cantus*) for sweetness. Then holy Brendan saith unto his brethren, "Refresh your bodies, since this day the Lord hath satisfied your souls by His Divine rising again." And when supper was ended, and the work of God done, the man of God and they that were with him gave their bodies unto rest until the third watch of the night. And the man of God woke and roused the brethren for the watches of the night, and he began holily to sing that verse, "O Lord, open Thou my lips." And when the word of the man of God was finished, all the birds sang out with wings and voices, saying, "Praise ye the Lord, all His Angels, praise ye Him, all His hosts." Likewise at even for the space of an hour, they sang ever, and when the dawn glowed they began to sing, "And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us," with the same harmony and length of singing as in the Morning Praises: likewise, at the third hour that verse, "Sing praises to our God, sing

praises, sing praises unto our King, sing ye praises with understanding:" at the sixth hour, "May the Lord cause His face to shine upon us, and be merciful unto us:" and at the ninth hour they sang, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." So by day and by night these birds gave praise to God.'

I have read this passage at length, not only because of its intrinsic merit, but also because of its evident meaning. It is obvious that it is meant to propound doctrines similar to those which a distinguished writer has recently discussed under the title, *Happiness in Hell*. It is remarkable that the Codex Salmanticensis omits the whole passage in this sense. Possibly it did not suit the views of the transcriber.

In a week the provider came to them bringing more food and drink, but warned them not to drink of the fountain, as its waters were stupefying. He returned again at Pentecost, bringing more, but bade them now provision the ship with that water, and with dried bread. A week later they started. When they were on the shore, one of the birds came and perched upon the prow and said, 'Ye have kept the holy day of the Passover with us this year. Ye shall also keep the same day with us in the year to come. And where ye have been in the last year at the Supper of the Lord, there shall ye be upon the said day in the year to come. Likewise shall ye keep the Lord's night, the Passover Supper, where ye have kept it before, that is, upon the back of the monster Jasconius. And after eight months ye shall find

the isle which is called Ailbey. There shall ye keep the birth of Christ.' And so he flew back, and as the boat sailed away, all the birds sang, 'Answer us, O God of our salvation, Who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are afar off upon the sea.'

They were wandering upon the sea for three months, and afterwards came to the isle Ailbey, where they stayed until the middle of January. There is here described a monastery with twenty-four monks, who were fed on miraculously provided bread, and, except the Abbat, never spoke. There is rather a curious description of the church, which was square, with stalls round the walls. It had three altars, all of crystal, as were all the altar vessels, and seven lamps which were lit every evening by a fiery arrow which came in and went out at a window.

They left Ailbey, and were carried about on the sea until the beginning of Lent. They then came to an island where there was abundant vegetation, roots, and streams full of fish, but some of the brethren became insensible for one, two, or three days, from drinking the water. I own that this and the remark about the water in the Eden of Birds seems to me to be very likely plagiarised from the wine-river in Lucian's *Traveller's Tale*. Hence they went north for three days, were beating about for about twenty, and then eastward for three more, and then came back for Maundy Thursday to the isle of the provider, who again met them. All went on as before, and a week after Pentecost they started again from the Eden of the Birds.

It will thus be observed that the real times of voyaging in each year are limited to the months of February and March, and from about the early part of June to the middle of December.

Forty days after starting in this new year they were much alarmed by a vast fish which seemed to be coming after them to devour them, but it was killed by another monster, breathing fire, which appeared against it from the East, and tore it into three pieces.

The next day they came to a large and grassy island, where they found the tail portion of the monster fish. On this island they beached the ship, pitched the tent, and stayed three months, during which the sea was too stormy for travel. They lived for the three months on part of the monster, the rest of which was devoured by beasts, but another portion of a fish was afterwards washed up, and they made a salt provision of it—though, as to Brendan himself, it is remarked that he was a consistent vegetarian, having never, since his ordination, eaten anything wherein had been the breath of life. Three days after this, the sea being stiller, they set out again towards the North.

One day they saw an island in the distance, and Brendan told them that there there were three companies, of children, of young men, and of elders, and that one of the three brethren last come was there to make his earthly pilgrimage. They came to shore. The island was so flat that it seemed level with the sea. It had no trees nor anything that wind can shake. It was vast, and was covered with something which the Latin text calls

scaltæ—a word which I have failed to find in Ducange or in any other authority which I have been able to consult. It is, however, evidently, from the context, some kind of ground fruit, and may perhaps be the strawberry or the blaeberry—although the Latin for these seems to be generally *fragum* and *bacca myrtili*. This fruit was white or *purpureus*—wherein another difficulty arises as to the meaning of *purpureus*. The individual berries were as big as large balls, and tasted like honey. In this island were the three companies, who seemed to be moving and standing in a kind of sacred dance, two moving round while the one which had taken the farthest place stood still and sang, ‘The Saints shall go from strength to strength: the God of gods will appear in Zion.’ It is vexatious that here the question of colour again arises, as something very picturesque is evidently intended to be described. The company of children were clad in pure and glistening white, but the Latin, which is verbally followed by the French, gives the colour of the young men’s garments as hyacinthine, and that of the elders’ as purple. I have consulted all the authorities upon the question that I can. The result is that it is disputed whether hyacinthine means red or blue or both, and whether the Latin purple was red or plum-coloured. I hazard the conjecture that there is here an attempt to symbolize innocence, vigour, and ripeness, and that as the first colour is certainly white, the others may be red and what we call purple.

The voyagers landed at the fourth hour (10 A.M.)

and the dance went on until noon, when the three companies sang together the lxvii., the lxx., and the cxvi. Psalms, adding again, ‘the God of gods will appear in Zion.’ At 3 P.M. they sang likewise Psalms cxxx., cxxxiii., and what is called in the Septuagint the cxlvii., viz., the last nine verses of that so called in the A.V. At even they sang the lxv., the civ., the cxiii., and then the whole 15 songs of degrees, during which they sat. When this was done, a bright cloud overshadowed the island, a cloud so bright that it blinded the sight of the voyagers, but they could still hear the sacred song going on without ceasing until midnight (*vigilie matutinæ*) when they heard sung Psalms cxlviii., cxlix., and cl., and then what are called ‘12 Psalms according to the Psalter, up to “The fool hath said in his heart,”’—an apparent reference to the present Roman Breviary arrangement by which the xth is united (as in the Septuagint) with the ixth, and the vth transferred out of its order. As day broke, the cloud passed away from over the island and the companies sang Psalms li., xc., and lxiii., and at 9 A.M. xlvii., liv., and cxvi. From what this peculiar arrangement of the Psalms is taken, I do not know. It is not that of the Monastic Breviary, nor of the Roman, nor of the Greek Church, nor is it that of the Mozarabic, at least at present, but from its excessive irregularity, in which it resembles the Mozarabic, I guess that it may belong to some Ephesine rite, as introduced by Patrick into Ireland, and that it is here set down at length because it was becoming obsolete in the days of

the writer. Then they went to Communion. After this, two of the company of young men brought a basket full of the purple fruit, and put it into the ship, saying, 'Take ye of the fruit of the strong men's isle, and give us our brother and depart in peace.' Then Brendan called the brother to him and said, 'Kiss thy brethren, and go with them that call thee. I tell thee, brother, that in a good hour did thy mother conceive thee, who hast earned to dwell with such a congregation.' So they bade him farewell with tears, and when he came to the companies, they sang, 'Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' and then the *Te Deum*, and the voyagers set out again upon their way.

The voyage now continues with two or three comparatively trivial adventures. For twelve days they lived upon the juice of the scaltsæ, after which they fasted for three days. Then a bird brought them a branch of an unknown tree, bearing a bunch of bright red grapes, whereon they lived for four days, and then fasted for three more. On the last of these they sighted the island where grew the grapes. It was thickly wooded, with trees bending under the weight of the fruit, filled with all manner of good vegetation, and exhaling an odour like that of an house full of pomegranates (*mala punica*). Here they landed, pitched the tent, and stayed for forty days.

After they left this island they were much alarmed by the sight of a griffin flying towards them, but it was killed by another bird which fought it in the air, and its body fell into the sea.

They reached the isle Ailbey in safety, and there passed the midwinter as usual.

The following years are passed over with merely the general statement that they went about much in the ocean, and passed the usual seasons in the usual places. It is mentioned that one midsummer the sea was so clear for about a week that they could see the marine animals lying at the bottom ; and when Brendan sang, these came up and swam round the ship.

It must be, as far as the chronology of the romance can be said to be fixed, intended to be represented as in the February of the seventh year, that the narrative again becomes continuous. They saw one day a pillar standing in the sea, which appeared to be near them, but which they did not reach for three days. Its top seemed to pierce the clouds. At the distance of about a mile it was surrounded on every hand by a sort of network, of a material like silver, but harder than marble. They drew in the oars and mast, and passed through one of the interstices. The sea within was as clear as glass, so that they could see the bottom, with the lower part of the pillar and the network resting upon it. The pillar was of absolutely clear crystal, so that the light and heat of the sun passed through it. It was forty cubits broad on every side. On the south side they found a chalice of the material of the network and a paten of the material of the pillar. After passing again out of the network, they sailed for eight days towards the North, and here begins what may be called the diabolical portion of the story.

They saw one day a wild and rocky island, without grass or tree, but full of smiths' forges. The wind bore them past it at about a stone's throw, and they could hear bellows roaring with a sound like thunder, and hammers striking upon anvils. Presently they saw one of the inhabitants come out of a cave. He was shaggy and hideous, burnt and dark. When he saw the ship, he ran back howling into his workshop. Brendan immediately bid hoist the sail and have out the oars. While this was doing the creature appeared again with a glowing mass of fused metal (*massam igneam de scoria*) in pincers, which he hurled at them. Where it struck the water about a furlong from them, it made the sea boil and hiss. They had only escaped about a mile when they saw beings swarming out upon the shore, throwing about molten masses, some after them and some at one another, and then all went back into the forges and set them blazing, until the whole island seemed one mass of fire. The sea boiled like a boiling cauldron, and all day long the travellers heard an awful wailing. Even when they were out of sight of the island, the howls still rang in their ears, and the stench made their nostrils smart. 'And Brendan said, "O ye soldiers of Christ, make you strong in faith not feigned, and in the armour of the spirit, for we are upon the coasts of hell. Watch, therefore, and play the man."'

The next day but one, they found the wind bearing them down upon another mountain in the sea, black as coal, reaching steep down to the sea,

and whose top they could hardly see, but yet wrapt in soft mists. When they came near it, the sole remaining of the three last come brethren jumped out of the ship and waded to shore. Suddenly he showed signs of terror, and cried out that he was being carried away and could not return. The brethren in horror pushed the ship away from land, and started towards the South. When they looked back they saw flames shooting up from the top of the mountain, and then sinking in again, and again surging up. It is a phenomenon familiar to any one who has watched the top of a volcano—often even of iron-works—and which has been splendidly described in the account of the burning essence of life in *She*. From this sight they fled and journeyed for seven days toward the South.

We now reach an incident founded upon that fact from the contemplation of which the human mind perhaps shrinks more than from any other. But the literary treatment of it is so curious and striking, and is rendered all the more so, at least to me, because I am aware of only one other attempt to grapple with it in the whole cycle of human invention, and that in the very highest sphere of imaginative literature, that I think that you will forgive me if I deal with it, and give at anyrate a part of it in full. ‘And after these things,’ says the novelist, ‘the Father Brendan saw as it were a very thick mist, and when they drew nigh thereto, there appeared unto them a little shape as it had been the shape of a man sitting upon a stone, and before him a veil of the size of a bag hanging between two forks of iron,

and thus the waves beat him about as it were a boat when it is in peril in a tempest. And when the brethren saw it, some of them thought that it had been a bird, and others thought that it had been a ship. Then the man of God answered them, "Brethren, let be this strife, and turn the ship unto the place." And when the man of God drew nigh thereto, the waves round about stood still as though they had been frozen. And they found sitting upon a stone a man shaggy and misshapen, and from every side when the waves came upon him, they smote him up to the crown of his head; and when again they fell away from him then was seen the stone whereon the unhappy one sat. And the wind moved about from time to time the cloth that was before him, and it smote him upon the eyes and upon the forehead. And when the blessed one asked him who he was, and for what fault he was set there, and how he had merited such punishment, he said, "I am that most unhappy Judas, the worst of bargainers. Neither for any desert of mine do I have this place, but through the pardon and pity of the Redeemer of the world, and in honour of His holy resurrection, have I this rest" (now, it was the Lord's Day), "and when I sit here it seemeth to me as though I were in the Garden of Eden, by reason of the torments which I shall have this even, for when I am in torment I am like a bit of lead molten in a crucible day and night. In the midst of the mountain which ye have seen, there is Leviathan with his crew, and I was there when it swallowed up your brother, and therefore hell was

glad, and sent forth great flames, and thus doth it ever when it devoureth the souls of the wicked. But that ye may know the measureless goodness of God, I will tell you of my rest. I have here my rest every Lord's Day from evening to evening ——," and then follow some words as to other days which are evidently corrupted both in Jubinal's text and in that of the Salamanca MS. Then it continues, "But the other days I am tormented with Herod and Pilate, with Annas and Caiphaz; and therefore I beseech you for the sake of the Redeemer of the world, that ye be pleased to plead for me with the Lord Jesus that it be granted me to be here until to-morrow at the rising of the sun, that at your coming the devils may not torment me nor carry me away unto that evil heritage which I have bought unto myself." This is done. There is some talk, from which it appears that the cloth is one which Judas once gave to a leper, the forks some which he had given to Priests whereon to hang pots, and the stone whereon he sits, one with which he had once filled up an hole in a public highway. The whole episode closes thus:—"At the breaking of the day, when the man of God began to take his journey, behold, an infinite multitude of devils covered the face of the deep, speaking with dreadful voices and saying, "O man of God, cursed be thy coming in and thy going out, for our prince hath scourged us this night with grievous stripes, because we brought him not that accursed prisoner." And the man of God saith unto them, "Let that curse be not upon us but upon you, for blessed is he

whom ye curse, and cursed is he whom ye bless." The devils said, "That unhappy Judas shall suffer double pains these six days, because ye have shielded him this night." The saint saith unto them, "Ye have no power, neither your princes, for power is of God." And he said, "In the name of the Lord, I command you and your prince that ye put him to no greater torments than ye have been wont." They answered him, "Art thou the Lord of all, that we should obey thy words?" The man of God saith unto them, "I am the servant of the Lord of all; and whatsoever I command in His Name, it is done; and I have no ministry save of them whom he giveth me." And so they followed him, continually blaspheming, until he was borne away from Judas; and the devils went back and lifted up that most unhappy soul among them, with a great rushing and shouting.'

This subject is one which ought not to be treated at all. It ought to be left veiled in the unknown, as it has been left for us by the Infinite Mercy from Whose revelation we know all that we know about it. As a matter of fact, I am only aware, as I have stated, of one other writer besides this Irish romancer, who has treated it. That writer is Dante. At the lowest depth of his Inferno sits Satan munching Brutus, Cassius, and Judas in his threefold mouth. Brutus and Cassius have their heads and upper parts hanging outside the mouth.

'Quell' anima lassù, c' ha maggior pena,'
Disse 'l Maestro, 'è Giuda Scariotto,
Che 'l capo ha dentro, e fuor le gambe mena.'

The traditional epithet which the world has justly attached to the name of Dante Alighieri is 'the Sublime.' I am almost afraid to say it, but we all know how proverbially short is the distance between the sublime and the ridiculous. And I venture to submit to the private personal thought of each of you whether it be not merely the horror of the subject and of the conception, and the almost stupefying grandeur of the poetry, which separates this idea from the grotesque; and whether, if the thing be to be touched at all, the old Irish fabulist has not produced a conception both more tender and more truly tragic.

They then go for three days southward and find a small precipitous rocky island, quite round, and about one furlong in circumference. Here they find a narrow landing-place, and dwelling on the summit an hermit aged one hundred and forty years, of which he had passed ninety in the island. He had no clothes except his own hair, which was long and white. He was an Irishman named Paul, and had known Patrick. For thirty years he had lived on fish brought him by a beast, presumably an otter, in its fore-paws, along with fuel wherewith to cook it, and which he kindled by striking a flint, and for sixty years upon the water of a spring. He gave them of the water of the spring, and bade them go their way, telling them that in forty days they would keep the Passover as usual, and so also Pentecost, and thereafter would they find 'the land holier than all lands.'

They remained therefore on the open sea during all Lent, living only on the water of the hermit's

spring, and passed Easter and Pentecost in the usual places. But this was the last time. Their provider came to them and said, 'Get ye up into the ship and fill your bottles with the water of this fountain. I also now will be the companion and leader of your journey, for without me ye cannot find the land which ye seek, even the land which is promised unto the Saints.' As they embarked, all the white birds sang in chorus, 'The God of our salvation make your way prosperous' (Ps. lxxvii. 20, Vulg.). They went to their provider's island and there took in provision for other forty days and set forth. And now comes the discovery of the Land of Promise, which I had better read in full :—

'And when forty days were past, and the evening was drawing on, a great darkness covered them, so that scarcely could one see another. Then the provider saith to holy Brendan, "Father, knowest thou what is this darkness?" The Saint saith, "Brethren, I know not." Then saith the other, "This darkness is round about that island which ye have sought for seven years. Behold, ye see it : enter ye into it." And after the space of an hour, a great light shone round about them, and the ship stood upon the shore. When they went out of the ship, they saw a land, broad, and full of fruit-bearing trees, as in the time of autumn. They went round about that land as long as they were in it. They had no night there, but the light shone as the sun shineth in his season. And so for forty days they went about through that land, but they could not find the end thereof. But

upon a certain day they found a great river which they could not pass, running through the midst of the island. Then saith the holy man unto the brethren, "We cannot pass over this river, and we know not how large is this land." While they thought upon these things, behold, there came to meet them a young man with glorious countenance and comely to look upon, who kisseth them with great joy, and calleth them everyone by his own name, and saith, "O brethren, peace be unto you, and unto all who have followed after the peace of Christ," and after this he said, moreover, "Blessed are they that dwell in Thine house, O Lord: they will be still praising Thee." After these words, he saith unto holy Brendan, "Behold the land which ye have sought of a long time. But for this cause have ye not been able to find it since ye began to seek it, because the Lord Christ hath willed to show unto thee divers of His hidden things in this great and wide sea. Return thou therefore unto the land of thy birth, and take with thee of these fruits, and of precious stones as much as thy ship may hold. For the days of thy pilgrimage are drawing near at hand, that thou mayest sleep with thine holy brethren. But after many times this land shall be made known unto them that shall come after thee, when it shall be helpful in the tribulation of the Christians. The river which ye see divideth this island, and even as now it appeareth unto you ripe in fruits, so is it at every time without shadow or foulness. For the light shineth in it without failing." Then holy Brendan saith unto the young man, "Lord father, tell me if

this land shall ever be revealed unto men." And he saith, "When the Almighty Creator shall have made all nations subject unto Him, then shall this land be made known unto all His elect." And after these things, Father Brendan took a blessing from the young man, and began to return by his way whereby he had come, taking of the fruits of that land and of sorts of precious stones; and when he had sent away the man that provided for them, who had prepared meat for him and for the brethren season by season, he went up into the ship with the brethren, through the darkness, whence he had begun to sail. And when they had passed through it, they came unto the Isle Delightsome, and when he had been entertained there for the space of three days, he took a blessing from the father of the monastery, and then under God's leading came straight to his own monastery.'

It remains to make some remark upon the character and possible sources of this curious composition.

In connection with fabulous voyages, it is natural to think not only of Lucian's *Traveller's True Tale*, but also of *Gulliver's Travels*, but these are skits, satirizing with wild wit certain features of life which lay before the authors. The gravity of Brendan's *Voyage* renders it impossible to place it in any such category. It can hardly be said to contain any grotesque adventure except that of the monster's back, and from the way in which this is told, it is evident that it did not appear grotesque to the narrator; and the religious tone of the whole thing forbids any such explanation.

On the other hand, I cannot perceive any hidden meaning in it which would assign it to the same class of allegorical romance of which Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is the most famous example.

It is impossible that it could ever have been intended to be believed. Some of the incidents are so obviously fabulous—for instance, that of Judas,—that such an hypothesis would be simply to condemn the author as a profane forger, and his tone is much too pious for that; besides which, there would have been no possible motive; and again, although this romance stands alone or nearly alone in the popularity which it has attained outside its own country, as Professor O'Curry remarks, it does not stand by any means alone within the native literature of that country, albeit its literary merit may place it above all or nearly all the old Irish compositions of its class. It is, however, an extraordinary fact that it has actually been sometimes taken for sober truth. This has not been, I think, so much the case in Ireland. There are, it is true, one or two incidents in the *Life* which may be remotely identified at bottom with incidents in the *Voyage*, there is even mention of the Land of Promise, but I am more inclined to regard these as, more or less, distorted legendary statements about Brendan's real career, afterwards seized upon, magnified, and worked in by the romancer, than as incidents of the romancer appropriated and nationalized into comparative possibility by the biographer. Thus the Land of Promise may have been a fond title for the imaginary site of a monastery for which he was

seeking in the Western Isles. But even in Ireland the son of Finnlogh O' Alta seemingly obtained a character for certain adventures which must have been taken from the fable, and the Martyrology of Donegal gravely refers to the Voyage as well as to the Life as an authority upon the subject, although I confess I can hardly believe that Cuimin of Condeire was not jesting when he wrote the verse—

‘Brenainn loves constant piety,
According to the synod and congregation ;
Seven years on a whale's back he spent ;
It was a difficult mode of piety.’

It was, however, outside Ireland, in countries where less was known of the facts, and the Voyage was isolated from other works of its class, that this romance was most largely accepted as serious matter of fact. The possession of St. Brendan's Isle whenever it should be discovered was, according to M. Jubinal, actually made the subject of State documents, and he names no less than four maritime expeditions which were despatched in search of it, the last from Santa Cruz in Tenerife in 1721, at the instance of Don Juan de Mur, Governor of the Canaries, and under the command of Gaspar Dominguez. I must, however, avow that I have great difficulty in believing that such an expedition as this could have been motivated by any other hypothesis than that the romance was the legendary record of some really existing island in the Atlantic.

The mention of such a belief brings me to the consideration of another and very different form of

what I may call the naturalistic school of interpretation. This theory throws overboard the whole of the elements of the class commonly called supernatural, and even treats the identity of the voyagers as a matter of comparative indifference, but it sees in the wild narrative a distorted and legendary account of some actual voyage and some actual adventures and discoveries in the Atlantic. By some the Canary Archipelago, with perhaps Madeira, the Cape de Verd Islands, and some parts of the African coast, if not even the Azores, have been supposed to be the original scene of the wanderings of some early navigators, even if not of Brendan, and the Burning Island with its savage inhabitants, and the infernal volcano would of course be interpreted of the great volcano of Tenerife. But a more interesting interpretation is that which sees in the voyage of Brendan a distorted account of some ancient voyage by the Western Islands, the Orkneys and Shetlands, the Faroe Isles, Iceland, and finally to the coast of America. I need not remind you that the earliest voyages to America of which we have historical accounts are those of the Norsemen, who, as early as the year 1001, proceeded so far South as to come into a land where the vine was growing wild, and which they consequently named Vineland. It matters comparatively little to the naturalistic interpretation of this romance whether it be based upon mutilated and gossiping accounts of the voyages of the Norsemen, or upon some still earlier adventures of which all truly historical record has perished. The shores of America here become the

Land of Promise, the clouds which veil it are the fogs of the coasts of Newfoundland or Labrador, the great and impassable river which divides it, perhaps the St. Lawrence : the crystal column is an iceberg : the rough and rocky island, and the black, cloud-piercing volcano, which burnt in the midst of the Northern Ocean, are Iceland and its volcanoes ; the Eden of white birds is some region, perhaps the Faroes, where sea-fowl congregate in vast flocks : and the minor isles are to be more or less identified with some of those of the several archipelagos, many of which, in the time of the romancer, if not in that of Brendan, possessed halls, monasteries, and hermits. It may be urged as one of the main objections to this theory that it is almost outside the bounds of possibility that a corach could make such a voyage, but it is perhaps only fair to remark that in the *Life*, although not in the *Voyage*, it is stated that after the first five years of the wanderings Brendan returned to Ireland, where, among other things, he went to see Ita, and the narrative then continues : ‘She received him with joy and honour, and said, “O my beloved, wherefore hast thou tried without my counsel ? Thou wilt not gain the Land of Promise borne in the hides of dead beasts. Thou wilt find it with a ship made of boards.” So he went into Connaught, and embarked with 60 disciples in a ship skilfully made of boards, and toiled in voyaging for two years ; and at length came to the island where he would be.’ This island, however, is only one with an old man dressed in feathers, who calls it ‘an holy land, polluted by

no blood, open for the burial of no sinner, . . .
a land like Eden,' but this seems to be the
only Land of Promise which was known to the
biographer.

While, however, I willingly make a present of
this passage to the naturalistic interpreters, I do
not accept their interpretation. As I have said, I
look upon Brendan's wanderings in the Western
Isles soon after his ordination, in search of a place
wherein to found a monastery, as the only scrap of
historical basis, at any rate as far as he was con-
cerned, which the romance possesses. The Life
says that he reached many islands, but instances
only two, one of these being the so-called Land of
Promise as above, and the incidents are not of a
very startling character. No one on the other
hand will deny that the Voyage narrates a series
of incidents of a very startling character indeed,
and it seems to me beyond possibility that some of
them, such as the Judas episode, can have even a
legendary basis, or be anything but pure, unmiti-
gated, intentional, avowed, undisguised fiction, like
the incidents of any novel of the present day. It
seems to me that there is in the romance more
resemblance to Lucian's *Traveller's True Tale* than
is likely to be accidental, and the Land of Promise
indeed occupies a position somewhat similar to
that held by the Islands of the Blest in that re-
markable skit. Again I think that the Burning
Island with its forges, and its monstrous inhabit-
ants hurling rocks into the sea after the voyagers,
and the great black volcano piercing the clouds, is
very suggestive of Etna and the Cyclopes as de-

scribed in the Odyssey. It must be remembered that Greek scholarship was a good deal cultivated in antient Ireland. My own impression is that the author, whoever he was, was a very pious man, who had read Homer and Lucian, and to whom it occurred that it would be a nice thing to write an imaginary voyage which might unite similar elements of interest and excitement with the inculcation of Christian, religious, and moral sentiments. For his own purposes he plagiarized them a little, and I am very far from wishing to contend that it is impossible that he may also have worked in some vague accounts of the wonders of America, which had reached his ears from the adventurous voyages of the Norsemen, if indeed his date were late enough, possibly of even earlier navigators, now to us unknown. But as a whole, I look upon the Fabulous Voyage as a composition which is really only differentiated by the elements due to the time and place of birth from religious novels such as those which enrich the pages of the *Leisure Hour* or the *Sunday at Home*.

ST. ANDREWS.

(Rectorial Address.)

THE position to which I have had the honour of being elected has surrounded me with a good many elements of the new or of the unexpected. My installation, indeed, is but a few moments old, but those who know anything of the circumstances of my election know that that election was in no way anticipated by me. My adventures since have not been of a character which I foresaw. Nor can I even exclude from the category of the unforeseen much kindness with which I have been treated, for it has been greater than any for which I was entitled to look. But there is one feature about my office in which there is for me nothing new. That feature is St. Andrews itself. I may, indeed, claim that my affection for this place has hitherto been life-long. My mother, like so many others, sometimes came here about August and September—how often, I do not remember, for these sojourns enter dimly into the region of some of the very earliest recollections which I have, and these memories, associated with that of the only parent whom I ever knew, and with those of friends of hers, nearly all of whom are now passed away, form elements in that mental store which is now

become sacred for me without becoming sorrowful. I dimly recall the old garden of St. Leonards and a variety of mechanical toys working by wind and water with which Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair had adorned it. The art of taking photographs was then new, and he was rather an enthusiastic amateur in it, and fond of getting my mother and her friends to sit for him. I think I have some of the results now. There was Sir David Brewster, who gave me a kaleidoscope, an instrument which was, I believe, of his invention, and was then still regarded by his contemporaries as somewhat a new thing; and I have a faint remembrance of some other optical machine of his, I think of a rotatory character. I remember gazing from St. Andrews at the great comet which there was about the time of the Indian Mutiny, and when we were living in the Principal of St. Mary's house, my kinsman, Charles M'Lean, came home wounded from India and stayed with us, and with his maimed hand gave me some elementary lessons in fortification, with wet sand in a box. I think St. Mary's must have been the last house in St. Andrews where we stayed. I am one of those persons of perhaps disputable prudence, who keep a Diary, and I find under date of July 20, 1889—
'to St. Andrews . . . saw the last of the old garden of St. Mary's College, where I used to play (and eat unripe pears) as a child: they are going to build the library extension over it.' Well, I can only hope that the fruits of the tree of knowledge, to the cultivation of which that spot is now dedicated, may prove less crude and more whole-

some than the grosser dainties to the attractions of which I there formerly yielded.

As I grew towards manhood, I did not put away childish things in the sense of losing my feelings towards this place. And I remember when I was at Oxford, and was going one Long Vacation to Iceland in company with an English friend (now the secretary of one of Her Majesty's present ministers), I stopped the yacht here in order to show him with pride the only place in Scotland, as far as I know, whose appearance can boast any kinship with that of Oxford. And, indeed, if the buildings here be comparatively few, they would be proud enough at Oxford of the tower and chapel of St. Salvator, they never had any building such as is the Cathedral, even in its ruins, they have nothing to compare to the tower of St. Regulus, and no walls like those of Prior Hepburn. And the glorious surroundings of nature here rise above any comparison with the site of Oxford amid flat meadows surrounded by tame hills, upon the banks of a small, sluggish river, and annually insulated for a longer or shorter period by floods.

I was going to have added that St. Andrews had also the advantage over Oxford of emerging into the light of history from the glittering haze of the heroic myth, instead of from the dark fogs of uncertainty, occasionally illuminated by the fitful will-o'-the-wisp of doubtful conjecture. But I am not fond of the heroic myth when I can get facts and even fair suppositions drawn from facts. And St. Andrews needs not the heroic myth in

order to clothe its birth or its history with lustre. Its real history is noble. And as time advances, and the romance of youth becomes ever more and more distant, and the sober desire for historic and scientific truth waxes stronger, it seems to me all the more precious for being a real history which is recoverable from documents, and of which what must still be the subject of conjecture, is at least conjecture based upon good circumstantial evidence. How much has been done for that history by the late William Skene it would be unseemly here not to acknowledge, and the field which his learning covered was so vast that it is no disparagement to him to say that he has left in it much which has yet to be gleaned, or that a consultation of the authorities may sometimes lead to the respectful formation upon particular points of conclusions other than his.

I look upon the history of St. Andrews as especially precious here as a continual expression of and witness to the spirit of the Scottish nationality in the higher spheres of thought and activity. There is, of course, a true and a false nationalism. It seems to me to be a false nationalism when, as I think is done by Erastianism, it is attempted to render amenable to political and even artificial distinctions things which are by their very nature either true or false, not only in every part of this planet, not only in this system, but universally. It is a true nationalism which recognises and acts upon those racial instincts and characteristics which are eradicable only with the races themselves. The developments of these instincts and

characteristics may be modified, but to ignore their existence and endeavour to thwart their manifestation is merely a useless and harmful fighting against nature. This extends into the modes of religious thought and practice as well as to other things. It would be no doubt an exaggeration to say that the conversion of an Aryan country to Christianity is no more than the infusion of Shemitism into its religion ; but I have seen a certain amount of people of different races and of different religions, and the result of my observation is that those who are of the same race, and of different religions, resemble one another more even in their religious practices than do those who are of the same religion but of different races. I might take divers examples, which I abstain from citing for fear of hurting the feelings of any good people, but I think I cannot be blamed for taking two or three which are historic. You cannot have helped remarking how parts of the English population in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. displayed great indifference upon the subject of what really were fundamentals, but rose in rebellion over changes in certain adjuncts which were of no comparative importance. And I verily believe that if the parish churches among those people's descendants were turned into Buddhist temples to-morrow, they would regard you with perfect equanimity while you held forth to them upon the Causal Nexus of Being, or upon that Nirvana which Wagner has so beautifully called 'love's endless, dreamless sleep.' What they would not like would probably be the priest wearing a yellow

robe. It is, I believe, a certain fact that the statues of Reason which were set up in the French Churches at the time of the Great Revolution became in not infrequent cases the objects of the same observances as had, a few years before, surrounded in the same places statues representing very different things. No one, again, can read the suggestions for religious practices which Augustus Comte has made to his disciples without being struck by their resemblance to those which prevail among the majority of French Christians. As to Scotland, I may recall to you the rather hyperbolic saying, ascribed (on I forget what authority) to James VII., to the effect that every Scotchman, to whatever Church he may belong, and however sincerely, is always a Presbyterian.

I look, then, upon St. Andrews and her history as a singularly pure type, presentment, and symbol of the distinctive genius of the Scottish race energizing in the highest field of thought, a chief witness to, and monument of, the Scottish national history in its most ideal and elevated aspects. In such a type, while the whole is, as I think, and have said, controlled, through the very force of nature, by physiological causes, the introduction of Christianity has necessitated the existence of two elements. They are elements which here have harmonized as a patriotic State supporting a patriotic Church. The secular or State element is the Scottish nationality, of which the southern of the two Roman walls in Britain was perhaps even originally a witness, perhaps, after the invasion of Britain by the English and Saxons, in one sense a

partial cause, in any case has been, and, as I think, is the great geographical expression. The Christian element has been based upon things which are contemporary not with the invasion of Britain by the English but with that by the Romans. I mean the difference between the so-called Petrine and the Joannine Liturgical families. I need not remind the student of Christian Liturgiology that all the antient Liturgies contain in common a certain skeleton or ground-work, and certain formulæ, which for this reason can hardly fail to be ascribed to the Apostolic era itself, most probably even to a time before the dispersion of the Apostles, but that after these features of a common origin to which all alike bear witness, the early forms of Christian worship divide themselves into five heads. It is true that in these cases the difference of the *lex orandi* implied no difference in the *lex credendi*, but they sometimes became identified with discussions such as the Paschal controversy, which some, such as the Canterbury school, did their very best to drag into the sphere of doctrine. Indeed, the representatives of that school at Whitby, in 664, strove, more or less honestly, to represent Columba as being set up as a rival to the Apostle Peter. If they had named the Apostle John, it would not have been true, but it would have been nearer the mark. Perhaps they did not dare. As for the five Liturgical families—with the Egyptian, the Syrian, and the Chaldean, we need not here concern ourselves. But the Italian, commonly called Petrine, and the Ephesine or Joannine have

divided the Western world. The early history of the Italian is turbid. Without going the lengths of Renan, I think it will be generally admitted that there are some indications of a Pauline as well as of a Petrine tradition, and the period at which what was originally, as we all know, a Greek Church, became, under influences which were possibly African, a Latin Church, is wrapped in absolute mystery. On the other hand, the Joannine Liturgy is recognized on all hands as springing from the tradition of the beloved disciple, from the very home of her whom all generations shall call blessed. It was brought to Lyons by Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John. The local tradition of the Churches—probable enough, I think—bring it to Marseilles with the family of Bethany, Martha, and Mary, and Lazarus. Under the circumstances, its history presents a curious phenomenon, and it is almost startling to read the language applied to it, for instance, by ‘T,’ the biographer of St. Margaret. It has now practically no rest for the sole of its foot except in a side-chapel of the Cathedral of Toledo, and even that it owes only to the cultured patriotism of Cardinal Ximenes.

What were the forms of Christian worship prevalent in Britain during the Roman occupation, it is unnecessary here and now to discuss. I hazard the conjecture that they very probably varied, according to the nationalities of the troops quartered in the island, or of the other immigrants from different parts of the Empire, in the same way that different forms of worship are to be found at

the present moment in use among the British population of India. The author of the life of Brendan of Cluainferta (I speak of the Life, not of the Romance) mentions a Greek Liturgy as in use in Wales in the VIth Century. This is at least a proof that he believed such a thing to be possible; if it be true, it may throw some light upon the tradition of Eleutherius and Lleurwg, as showing a possible survival from that epoch. But before the Romans had finally evacuated Britain, our illustrious compatriot, Patrick M'Calphurn, was born near Dunbarton. What the form of Christianity was which he introduced into Ireland can hardly be said to have admitted of any question before, but the publication by the Bollandists in 1882 of the Würzburg Codex of the Life by Muirchu Maccumachtheni, appears to me to clinch it by rendering no longer reasonable any doubt that in the words of that Life, 'he went forth no farther' than Auxerre, but sat at the feet of Germanus, 'according to that which Paul was at the feet of Gamaliel,' and that his 'brethren,' (as he himself expresses it) were 'the Saints of the Lord . . . in the Gauls.' This was undoubtedly the form of Christianity re-imported into what is now called Scotland, by Columba, in 563. The mission of Columba has indeed perished as regards its merely Liturgical practices, and their very monuments are scant. But in its essence, as the abiding idea of a national and nationalist Church, it will be generally confessed to have ultimately dominated hitherto anything which it found before it, and anything which it has since been sought to

introduce into it. It lives mightily. Whatever denomination people belong to in Scotland at this day, they are all eager, with hardly a single if any exception, to claim that they most truly represent the ideas of Columba. I do not believe that his memory ever received so wide a veneration as it does at this moment.

And it is with this birth of the distinctively patriotic National Scottish Church, as opposed to what had thitherto been rather the Churches of Roman Cantonments, that what had been thitherto merely the Wild Boars' Headland, first, but at once, becomes in the very light of Columba's own day, if not actual presence, a sacred spot. There are two names connected with the sowing of that grain of mustard-seed which afterwards grew into such a tree, in whose branches so many a mind of soaring thought and thrilling voice has found a congenial home. The first of these two is Kenneth of Aghaboe, the intimate personal friend of Columba, whom he accompanied when he first went to see Brude, the King of the Picts, and whom he survived for only three years, dying in 600. Of his historic greatness in Ireland, it is needless to speak. His fame is attested in Scotland by the continual popular use of his name, as well as by the dedication of churches. I am, however, inclined to think, with Dr. Skene, that, when he is named in connection with St. Andrews, the phrase is used rather loosely, much as one might say that the Charing Cross Railway Station is in London, whereas it is really west of Temple Bar, and that, familiar as he must have been with the

Promontorium Apri, the actual scene of his temporary abode is more probably to be found outside its swampy moat. The second name is that of Regulus. With him the question is different. A tower raised in his memory, when that memory was less than half as distant as it now is, still rises above us, and his connection with the actual spot is intimate. But very little is now known about him. He belongs almost completely to that curious class of whom it has been said, with a certain quaint beauty, that 'their memories are justly venerated among men, but their acts are known only to God.' I have not succeeded in finding any date assigned as that of his death, but one of the few statements regarding him associates him with a moment more interesting than that which a barren entry of decease would record. It was soon after the accession of Aidan M'Gabhraín, that great Prince from whom not only is our present Royal Family descended, and in right of whom they may be said to reign, but who undoubtedly was the first monarch who proclaimed the national independence of the Scottish Kingdom, and who is regarded by Dr. Skene as the founder of the Scottish monarchy more really than even Fergus M'Erca, while he also seems to have been the last man who actually represented the Roman Emperors, as commanding the united forces of all Christian Britain. Only the year before Columba, in obedience, as he believed, to a direct revelation from Heaven which had substituted the Divine Will for his own, had ordained him King in Iona with such a tremor of patriotic and religious

emotion, that while his hand was resting upon the august head the very words of Benediction which he was reciting had been broken by an unpremeditated outburst of prophecy and warning. In 574 the hero and the saint went together to Drumceatt, to claim the independence of the Scottish Kingdom. Before he returned, Columba founded the Church of Drumcliffe, and among those who met him upon the occasion to do him honour was Regulus.

From the few facts and the jumble of contradictory fictions, I think we may at least gather that Regulus was a contemporary, and a friend, perhaps a disciple of Columba, who retired at some time to the then solitude of the Boars' Headland. There is certainly a curious coincidence between this name of the Boars' Headland, with the *Cursus Apri* and the rest of it, and that of the Boars' Isle in Lough Derg on the Shannon with which the name of Regulus is elsewhere associated. And I venture to hazard a conjecture. I cannot identify the isle among the many which stud Lough Derg, but I find that the Lough is fairly deep. Pigs notoriously swim very badly, and I strongly doubt whether wild boars would ever make an habitual resort of an island in deep water. Whence then the name? At St. Andrews it is fitting enough, as this isolated headland is separated from the mainland only by a swampy valley with a little stream where the boars would have wallowed and whence they could have sought a drier refuge on the higher ground. Is it possible that Regulus went over into Scotland after Columba, later

than the Synod of Drumceatt, and then founded the cell called thenceforward Cillrighmonaich, and when he returned to Ireland and sought an hermitage in Lough Derg, gave it the name of Boars' Isle in remembrance of his foundation and probably his hermitage upon the Boars' Headland?

From the time of Regulus till that when it became St. Andrews, I notice nothing of the history of this place, but events took place which mightily affected it. In 597 (the very year of Columba's death) the Petrine Church of Canterbury was founded by an Italian mission under Augustine, and, although primarily meant for the conversion of the heathen Angles and Saxons, soon assumed an aggressive attitude not only towards English Churches such as that of Deira, which owed their existence to the labours of the members of the antient Joannine Churches, but also towards these Churches themselves. In 664, the Canterbury party at the Synod of Whitby, by invoking the civil power to decide a purely ecclesiastical question, succeeded in conquering and capturing the Church of Northumbria. In 710 a similar change was made by Nectan MacDerili, King of the Picts. He threw himself body and soul into the arms of the Canterbury party. In 717 he expelled the Columban monks from his dominions. He proclaimed St. Peter Patron of his country, and invited an architect to build him a church in the Roman style, a building of which I need hardly remind you that the late Dr. Stuart believed the lower part of the existing tower of Restennet Priory to be a part.

It is interesting to observe how history repeats itself, as though by those re-incarnations of which we have heard a good deal of late years. Not many months ago a ceremony with a similar object was performed in London in honour of St. Peter, with exactly the same intention as that of Nectan MacDerili, and the place purposely selected for it was a building erected on precisely the same principle, and with the same motive as those which dictated his architectural choice.

This brings me to the time of the in-bringing of the reliques of St. Andrew, from which this city has its name, and the national and sacred movement with which that in-bringing is associated. First, as to the reliques. Without discussing the varying amount of attraction which is presented to various minds by the contemplation of minute fragments of bone, it is a patent fact that the reverence for the remains of the dead, of which that attraction is only one manifestation, is an universal sentiment of mankind. The respectful or tender ceremonial of every funeral is only another form of it. And such respect varies in character with the character of the dead. The emotion which centred round the bones of Robert Bruce when they were found in their grave at Dunfermline in 1818, and re-interred the next year, was patriotism. But it is the love of our Fatherland which is in heaven which rouses emotion at the sight of remains, which, as we know them to have been sown in corruption, we are also sure will be raised in incorruption, but especially of a body which had enabled him who

wore it to walk with Christ in the flesh, which had enabled him to imitate his Master to such an extent as to manifest by suffering martyrdom the love than which no man hath greater, which had enabled him alone with Peter, among the Apostles, to share with their Master the death of the Cross.

But it is needless to remark that a superstructure of such feeling as that with which we should gaze upon the mortal remains of the Saint, of the Apostle, of Andrew, must be based upon at least a reasonable belief in the authenticity of the object, and such belief can only be justified by a purely archæological investigation. It is necessarily to hold clear, on the one hand, from the excessive credulity which has enriched collectors with so many autographs of Burns, not to mention those of Montrose or Charles Edward, articles made by or belonging to Mary, Queen of Scots, or furniture, especially writing-tables, once used by Marie Antoinette, and, on the other, from an irrational and unscientific scepticism which I fancy really owes a good deal to jests made by Erasmus, of which I venture to think that the honesty is sometimes nearly as shady as the taste. I follow the late Dr. Skene, so far as he goes, to the history of the reliques of the Apostle Andrew which were brought here and gave this place its name, while I admit with him that some of the evidence is only circumstantial, and I supplement his researches with one or two additional observations.

In the time of Constantine the Great the grave of the Apostle Andrew at Patrai, in the Pelopon-

nesos, must have been as well known as that of John Bunyan is to us. The comparison is very exact, because both belonged to the mechanic class, both were itinerant preachers of detested dissenting sects, and both for that reason found themselves in collision with the law. The body of Andrew was removed by Constantine to Constantinople in the 20th year of his reign, and by him or Constantius buried in the Church of the Apostles. Roundly speaking, as I need hardly remind you, it was thence removed by Cardinal Peter Capuano, after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, and re-interred in 1208 in the Cathedral of Amalfi, where it now is. I have seen the top of the skull. It was during the sojourn of the remains of the Apostle at Constantinople that they underwent a mutilation which, according to the plausible conjecture of Dr. Skene, was the remote cause of the national position which the Galilean Fisherman now occupies among us. When Gregory the Great returned in 584 from discharging the duty of Apocrisiarius at the Court of Tiberius II., he brought with him to Rome an arm of St. Andrew, which the Emperor had given him, and placed it in the monastery of St. Andrew, (now called from its founder San Gregorio) which he erected upon the site of his ancestral home—and where most of it seems still to be. But from this it may be conjectured were taken the reliques brought to England by Augustine, a monk of the same monastery and in honour of which his Royal convert, Ethelbert, erected the Church of St. Andrew at Rochester. Hence again were most

probably derived the reliques which Bishop Acca placed in the church which he raised in honour of St. Andrew in his See at Hexham. In 731 he was expelled from his See—for what cause we know not, but it can have been none to endear the Northumbrian Government to his sympathies. He is said to have taken refuge among the Picts. It is certain that Angus, King of the Picts, received reliques of the Apostle, which he placed here, and immolated this place, the antient Muck-ross, the more modern Cillrighmonaich, to the Apostle from whom it is now named. That the late Historiographer Royal was right in this derivation of the reliques here from the arm brought by Gregory from Constantinople, appears to me to be greatly supported by the fact that these reliques are stated to have consisted of three fingers (probably finger-bones) and a fragment of an arm. A knee-pan and a tooth, which are also mentioned, I am inclined to guess to have been the additions of subsequent and less critical times. But whatever the history of these bits of bone, and whether they were or were not part of the body of the first-called Apostle of Christ, they were undoubtedly believed at the time to be genuine, and they were the immediate cause of the creation of St. Andrews as the great national Church of Scotland.

The historic expulsion of Acca followed at no long interval after the occupation of the throne of the Picts by Angus, son of Fergus, and while that Prince must have been still warm from the struggle in which he had deposed Nectan Mac-Derili. Angus is distinguished for three sets of

wars in particular. The first of these is the struggle against Nectan MacDerili, the last scene of which was enacted at Loch Inch in 729, although the civil war did not close till 731, and Nectan did not die till the following year. It was a struggle which argues in Angus no love for Nectan and his Canterbury sympathies, or any enthusiasm for his peculiar Petrine devotion. The second group consists of his wars against the Scots of Dalriada, which argue no special love for Iona, the sacred capital of their race, and its Columban monks. The third class are his wars against Northumbria, which argue no love for the Cantuarian Churches and the English Benedictines, but do render certain at least one bond of sympathy with Acca, the possessor of the reliques of the Apostle Andrew, the Bishop whom the English had driven out of his See of Hexham.

I think that the presentation of the reliques to him by Acca, which gave him an advantage over Nectan MacDerili, who is not known to have possessed any of St. Peter, enabled him to indulge all these feelings at once by starting a thoroughly national church of his own and proclaiming St. Andrew Patron of Scotland.

He selected the antient Boars' Headland for the place which should be given to the Apostle. This may have been partly for some topographico-historical reason, such as meeting Acca near there, as hinted in the later and mythological legends, but I should fancy mainly for two reasons. The first of these is that so beautifully expressed by Sir Walter Scott, when he puts in the mouth of one of his

characters the words, 'if there is anything utterly uneatable, let it be given to the poor,' and in accordance with which you will observe that the sites bestowed for monasteries are in most cases either howling wildernesses like the Grande Chartreuse, or bogs and swamps such as the site of Fountains must have been till it was reclaimed by labour which it was not worth the lay proprietor's while to expend, while the endowments of these establishments, as recorded in their Chartularies, consist, with almost monotonous regularity, of the bestowal by lay Patrons of the Patronages of parishes of which they were unable to draw the teinds for themselves. This wild and rocky headland, separated by a swamp from the cultivable mainland, must have been singularly well adapted for the purpose of pious munificence. The second reason was that there was an appeal to national ecclesiastical history and sentiment in the memories of Kenneth and Regulus, the friends of Columba : indeed, the name Cillrighmonaich, as a variant of Ceanrighmonaich, leads me to conjecture that there may have been actually some place of worship dating from the time of Regulus.

Then Angus wanted some staff to look after the place, to do something to keep the services going decently, and to provide lodging for anybody who came (doubtless including himself), and, as he did not want to have Dalriadic monks from Iona, and still less, English Benedictines from Northumbria, or to have to endow any one else, he put in a community of Culdees. I think that the first mention of Culdees at St. Andrews is the entry in the

Annals of the Four Masters under 742, and, I believe, in Tighernac under 747, *Mors Tuathalain Abbas Cindrighmonaigh*, and that this is one of the very few places, either on account of its Royal or sacred character, or because they ruled there alone, or for all these or some other reason or reasons, where their superior was styled Abbat. This peculiarity seems to be preserved down to this day by the use of the word Abbey in connection with some places in this city, although I have not found the title itself used later than 1178-88, when the constitution of the Culdees was being shaken by the action of the Bishop and his new so-called Augustinian Chapter. Perhaps the then holder was the last who bore it.

I feel a good deal of shrinking from that old subject of fiction, the Culdees, but I suppose something must be said, if not for very shame's sake, at least for history's sake. As in many other points concerning Celtic ecclesiastical history on which I have not been able myself to make original research, I feel great confidence in accepting on this subject the opinion of my late dear and venerated friend, Bishop Grant, of Aberdeen, who was able to deal with such things with singular learning and acumen. There are either historical notices or more or less trustworthy allusions to 25 establishments of persons called Culdees. Of these establishments, 13 were in Scotland, 9 in Ireland, 1 at York, and 1 in the island of Bardsey, off the coast of Carmarthenshire. These people had at least two Rules which are extant, one of which is attributed to Mochuda, who died in 636, but is

perhaps somewhat later, and the first name actually connected with them is that of Moling, who died in 697. They do not seem, like ordinary religious orders, to have had any bond of common Government, a fact which probably accounts for what appears to be a notice of some re-organizing of some at least of the Scottish houses upon an Irish model in 921. Their establishments were communities, but where, as was, or came to be, the case at St. Andrews, they consisted of married men living with their families, the tie of the common life cannot have been very strict. They were not clerical bodies in the ordinary sense, any more than is the Board of Governors of an hospital, although, as with such a board, a clergyman might join them if he so pleased. They dedicated themselves mainly to two works. First, they erected and maintained hospitals for the spiritual and the more comfortable bodily tending of the poor and the sick; and secondly, they strove, by singing, etc., to make more solemn the rendering of Divine Service.

This ecclesiastical part of their work consisted in attending and taking part in the regular Church services every day. In the absence of a properly ordained officiant, they conducted them, with the exception of the Eucharist. In the fifteenth century we find that the Prior of the Culdees of Armagh was a sort of precentor in the Cathedral. In some cases at least there seems to have been an attempt to add to the daily services the chanting through of the whole Book of Psalms every day. The distinctiveness of their hospital work is illustrated by a mystic story about Moling, in the Book

of Leinster, so striking that I shall read it. ‘One time, when he was praying in his Church, he saw the youth coming to him into the house. A purple garment was about him, and he had a distinguished countenance. That is good, O cleric, said he. Amen, said Moling. Why dost thou not salute me? said the youth. Who art thou? said Moling. I, said he, am Christ, the Son of God. That is not possible, said Moling, when Christ approaches to converse with the Celi-De, it is not in purple. . . . He comes, but in forms of the miserable, *i.e.*, of the sick and lepers.’ The book of Fenagh applies the word Culdee to St. John the Evangelist, apparently because he provided for the widowed and childless mother a home and the services of a son. One might have thought that the sacred pathos of this allusion might have moved Prior Hepburn to spare the poor old women whom he deprived, with a rather brutal remark, of their refuge, but probably he had never heard and never thought of it.

The origin of the Culdees is from Ireland, but the fact of their larger development in Scotland is owing, I think, to the expulsion of the Columban clergy by Nectan MacDerili, whereby they were to a certain extent called upon to take their place; indeed, Dr. Skene remarks that it is not till after that expulsion that the name of Culdee appears in Scotland at all. This is again, I think, an instance in which history repeats itself. Such lay bodies occasionally co-exist with monasticism, but the suppression of monasticism has a tendency to develop them. I remember visiting a lay community on the slopes of Mount Etna, which was

several centuries old, and in Mallorca there were at least two. One of these, which I visited, and in which there was no clergyman, was, I think, though I am not quite sure, older than the suppression of the Spanish monasteries, but my impression is that the other, which I did not see, but which I heard had been joined by one clergyman, was more recent. The most striking instance, however, is that of the body commonly called *Fрати Grigi*, who have come into existence entirely since the suppression of the monastic establishments under the present Italian constitution. They have, besides other establishments, which I believe are numerous, an Orphanage or Reformatory for boys, and an Asylum for old men, with which I am familiar, close to Sorrento.

The history of Scotland now gathers more and more closely round St. Andrews, and nearly every distinguished name is to be found in connection with it. The national Bishopric of Alban had been founded at Fortrenn about the middle of the ninth century. Early in the tenth century King Constantine and Bishop Cellach stood together upon the Mote Hill at Scone, and swore that in the land of the Picts 'the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the Churches and of the Gospels, should be kept as well as among the Scots.' This Cellach transferred the See, which had already been moved from Fortrenn to Abernethy, from Abernethy to St. Andrews, and Constantine himself, in extreme old age, went thither and became Abbat of the Culdees. As it is said—

‘Afterwards did God call him
To the Recles on the brink of the waves,
In the house of the Apostle he came to his death ;
Undefined was the pilgrim.’

In 1144 the reforming and constructive zeal which so marks the reign of David I. made itself felt at St. Andrews. Robert the Bishop, an Englishman, in view of the lay character of the Culdees, and anxious to provide his Church with a clerical staff, in strict accordance with the ideas of his day and of his sovereign, brought in the Augustinian Canons—who, as I need hardly remind you, have nothing to do with Augustine, except so far as their rule is based upon his works, especially the 109th Epistle, which, however, originally relates to women. The result was a kind of intermittent struggle with the Culdees, the original occupiers of the ground, which lasted about 200 years. The hospital work of the Culdees crystallized into the hospital of St. Leonard, the name of which is the same as that of their hospital built by King Stephen at York. It was, as you know, suppressed by Prior Hepburn in 1512, and turned into St. Leonard's College, so that its moral heir is now the United College, and its material representatives the remains of the chapel, once the parish church of St. Leonard, and some remains of buildings mainly incorporated in those of Miss Dove's admirable school. The more ecclesiastical side of the Culdee community became shaped into the Royal Collegiate Chapel of St. Mary of the Heugh, the interesting remains of which, uncovered not so many years ago, we see upon the Kirkheugh. This

institution long survived the Reformation. But in the arrangements for the settling of Episcopacy by James VI. the place was, in 1606, conveyed to the Archbishop, and Mr. Robert Buchanan, who had been appointed to the Provostry in 1599, the last representative of the Culdees, and successor of Tuathalain, died minister of Ceres in 1617.

I have said that there is hardly one great name in the history of Scotland which is not connected with St. Andrews, and the mention of the Culdees is connected, though not in a friendly way, with the chief action of William Wallace towards the place. William Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews, died in France, August 20, 1297. William Comyn, Provost of the Culdees, was the English candidate, and they claimed the right to vote, but were not allowed, and William Lamberton was elected. In the articles against him, printed by Palgrave, we find 'when the Chapter of St. Andrews had chosen Mr. William Comyn, who had always held himself loyal to our Lord the King and in his friendship, William Wallace and his adherents, the enemies of our Lord the King, to whom the said Mr. William Lamberton had, and has been, an adherent, contrary to his oath and allegiance, by force and stress made him to be elected Bishop of St. Andrews.' I think this implies that Wallace was actually present and aided the seven Augustinians to exclude the Culdees, and that the day must have been September 5, as stated by Gordon, just a week before the Battle of Stirling, and not November 5, as stated in Bower, when Wallace was in England. But if

so the election must have been very hurried, as they could not long have heard of Fraser's death. On July 5, 1318, this Lamberton had the satisfaction of consecrating the Cathedral in the presence of King Robert I., who then settled 100 marks yearly upon the Church in thank-offering for his victory at Bannockburn. It is interesting still to observe upon the east wall of the Cathedral the scored lines which guided Lamberton's thumb in applying the Sanctum Chrisma.

In 1378 broke out the Great Schism, and the Church of Scotland, with the exception of the Bishop of Galloway, who had to retire to York, declared in favour of the line of Anagni. It was during the Schism that the University was founded. Of the University itself I need hardly speak. I was going to say *Si monumentum quæris circumspice*, but I might apply that famous quotation to the University itself as the living monument of the remarkable man who founded it in 1413 at the request of Bishop Wardlaw. I mean Peter de Luna. His arms still appear upon the University Seal between those of the King and of the Bishop. But if you look above the Tabernacle in St. Salvator's Chapel, you will see that some Urbanist fanatic has defaced them. That childish act, which could not delete the facts of history by injuring an historical work of art, was but of a part with the treatment which Peter received from so many during life, and a forerunner of that which his memory has very commonly received since his death. To denounce him has been the continuous occupation of the historians who adopt the Urban-

ist view, a view which is undoubtedly the prevalent one, although there have not lacked writers such as Baluze, to set forth the other side of the question. Dr. Ludwig Pastor, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck, has assailed Peter de Luna and his party within the last few years in a work which has just been published in an English translation, and the learning of which is worthy of the writer's nationality. German nationality may, however, I think, have something more to do with it, when we find Peter represented as a tool for the unjust extension of French political influence, much as we might regard French political agents in Siam, Madagascar, or Tunis. The accusation strikes me as remarkable, when we consider that the man was a Spaniard, and passed most of his official and public career as the object of the persecution of the French Government, which finally drove him out of the country. The more usual charge against him is pig-headed obstinacy. But pig-headed obstinacy is an expression which may be only an abusive term for what others might as well call an unflinching and self-sacrificing devotion to duty. He is accused of believing himself to have been in the wrong all the while,—and here, as far as my reading goes, I would join issue. It might, I think, have been observed that where so many learned and able, so many pious, even saintly persons were divided in opinion, a difference of judgment from one side or the other, did not necessarily imply moral obliquity. Remember also that the Sovereign Princes of Spain suspended their judgment, until the most searching enquiry had ascer-

tained the facts which were to be laid before them as the basis for their decision : that this was done, and that after the most careful consideration, the decision of these Sovereigns was given in favour of the claims of the line represented by Peter. A very able English writer, who has publicly directed against him, within the last few months, a reiterated attack, which is all the more telling from the moderation of its language, admits not only the force of the case as put by Baluze, but also that until the publication of the additional documents from the Vatican Secret Archives, by the Abbé Gayet, in 1889, the full strength of the Anagni case was not placed before us. As a matter of practice, I would ask you, if you wish to form an opinion, to investigate the conditions under which the Conclave elected Urban, and to ask yourselves what would be the decision of one of our judges at this day were similar evidence laid before him in the case of a Parliamentary election petition. Peter de Luna has been held up to condemnation as a man whose only motive was a personal lust of power. I do not think that it looks very like it, that, when Scotland was the only country in Europe really faithful to him, and an army of French troops was beleaguering his Palace, to extort his resignation, and were withheld from actually assailing it only by that spectacle of patient dignity, he yet refused at any cost to assent to the induction into this Church of St. Andrews of one who would be an unfit minister of the Word and Sacraments, and when the Scottish Government proceeded to give the temporalities to

their nominee, Peter replied that *that* was in their power, and they were able to rob the Church of St. Andrews if they would, but that as for him, he would never consent—and he never did. It does not look like personal and worldly ambition that when he was asked why he did not lay France under interdict, he replied that he would never profane the censures of the Church to punish the poor, the ignorant, and the helpless, for the faults of their rulers, and moreover in a matter which could possibly be said to concern himself personally. It does not look like personal ambition when all his Cardinals left him, and he told them that they might go, but that he dared not flee, and leave the sheep which the Great Shepherd had called upon him to assume. Ambition is generally to be measured by the possible gains. What did he gain? The shifty Angelo Corario, the infamous Baldassare Cossa, even poor Egidio Muñoz, gained by submission the certainty of much more power and wealth and dignity than they could have dared to hope for before their uncertain assumption of the state by the resignation of which they gained it. Peter de Luna, your founder, a man whose straightforwardness no one has ever challenged, a man whose private life no one has ever dared to assail, but who said that he could not desert the post of duty except at the command of Him Who had called him to it, received nothing but persecution,—as far as this world goes, ruin. This very University deserted him five years after he had founded it, But I hope that when he lay upon his death-bed at Peñiscola, almost quite for-

saken by men, he was yet not alone, because the Master Whom he had tried to serve was with him.

I have always desiderated that history should be written with only an impartial statement of absolutely certain facts, so that the reader may be able to take one view or the other, just as the contemporary did. The ideal history of Mary, Queen of Scots, composed upon this principle, certainly never has been written, and I strongly doubt whether it ever will be written. I myself have tried to deal thus with smaller matters, in my own small way, and I think not altogether without such success as I really coveted, namely, a testimony to my absolute impartiality. I once wrote an essay on the so-called prophecies of Malachi of Armagh, in which I did my best to put the arguments both for and against their Divine inspiration as strongly as I could. Some of my friends said to me afterwards, that they wondered how I could believe in such rubbish. Others told me that, however I might myself believe these prophecies to be a forgery, they thought I might have done better to attack in less violent language, a thing in which so many good people believe. A third friend told me that I had displayed an absolute impartiality which deprived my essay of all interest. Then I wrote another essay upon the question whether Giordano Bruno was burnt or not. I put the historical arguments both ways as well as I could. My own impression at the time was that he really was burnt. But a newspaper critic remarked that I had strained every nerve to make out that he was not, and I had finally a

sort of triumph over myself, because, when I re-read the article some years afterwards, I found myself a good deal shaken in my opinion by my own arguments. I think, therefore, that you may fairly trust me, even me, to speak of the Reformation without giving offence to any man. It is not, however, merely the fearsome joy of dancing among eggs which makes me wish to speak of the subject, but because it necessarily falls in with the line of historical sketch which I have been taking, and because there are two observations upon it which I wish to make.

The first of these is that the Great Schism, of which your own founder, Peter de Luna, was one of the most prominent features and almost the last survivor, was one of the things which most chiefly led to it. That this would be so would be evident to anybody who thinks, having regard to the belief thitherto generally prevalent in Western Christendom as to the constitution of the Visible Church. It is interesting to observe as a proof of this the effect of the spectacle upon the mind of Wiclif. He began by being a violent Urbanist. He said (I cannot lay my hand upon the place but the words fixed themselves in my memory), ‘No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, and as is Urban.’ Afterwards he said, ‘If ever Urban departs from the right way, then is his election a mistaken one; and in this case it would be not a little for the good of the Church to want both Popes alike.’ He ended by blessing God for having, as he expressed it, split the serpent’s head into two. Pro-

fessor Pastor has gone into this whole question at length, in its several aspects. I need only here remark that the necessities of the contending parties and the ultimate discrediting and weakening of the central authority must be universally admitted to have borne an immense part in generating, in perpetuating, and in fostering those practical abuses, the existence of which at the beginning of the XVIth. Century no moderately educated man in his senses denies.

Considering the prominent position which St. Andrews had occupied in connection with the Great Schism, it is therefore all the more natural to observe the prominent position which it occupies in the history of the Reformation, or to observe that in 1571 no less than 12 of the Augustinian Chapter, without counting the Prior and the Prior of Pitmook, were holding Reformed parochial benefices, and that the Principal of St. Mary's, an old Carmelite friar, was inducted into the Reformed Archbishopric in the same year.

As far as the University goes, and any changes effected in its constitution, I might nearly as well have left the Reformation unmentioned; but this is exactly the second remark which I wished to make upon the subject, viz., the mild and conservative manner in which the Reformation was effected in Scotland as compared with England. A tempest of blood and fire raged in England for something like 300 years, in fits of intermittent violence, but rising into a tornado in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his children. In Scotland, the future was reserving horrors of cruelty based upon

religion almost entirely for later periods, for witches and for Covenanters. The maximum of persons put to death in connection with the Reformation is stated to be 19 on one side and 5 or 6 on the other. Admit the 25. Henry or Mary would have consumed them in a month. Again, the dissolution of the religious houses was effected without that cruelty and injustice towards individuals which marked the proceedings of Henry VIII. It is not very unusual to hear people talk vaguely about what they call the rapacity of the nobles. I once began a thorough examination of this subject. It is not finished, but I did enough to see that this sort of talk is nonsense. Very few persons profited by the confiscation of this property who did not profit by it already. The Act of Resumption itself was not passed till long after the Reformation, viz., in 1587, and the ground on which the Crown resumed, viz., that the objects for which the grants had been sanctioned were no longer attained, was not unreasonable. The vested rights of individuals were respected; there had even sometimes to be interference to prevent their alienating property in which they could in any case have had only a life-interest. There were immense reservations and exceptions, provisions for glebes, and so on. In some cases, especially the friaries, which were few and poor, the property went to the burgh where they were situated. In some, as at Queensferry, it was returned to the representatives of the donor. In most, it seems to have been made over to the Abbats or Priors, many of whom already held it

almost hereditarily, and of whom, as regarded the larger houses, there were very few who were either in Holy Orders, or members of the Order to which the establishment belonged. Some of these remain to this day—Neubottle, for example—and the Chapel Royal, and the endowments connected with it, still holds the Abbacies of Crossraguel and Dundrennan. Lastly, a good deal is said about the destruction of architectural monuments which I believe to be at least very greatly exaggerated in popular belief. Many of the people who say these things do not know, or do not remember, that the work of ruin in the south, as at Melrose, was the work, not of the Scottish Reformers, but of the English. The expression, ‘cast down,’ means, I think, the destruction of much of the internal decoration and furniture, and although many inestimable monuments of art and history must thus have perished, the destruction of stone buildings is not only a thing which a mob could hardly effect, but is opposed to the formal directions sent from Edinburgh in 1560, not to injure desks, windows, doors, glass, or iron, to a variety of notices, such as the directions given in 1563 for the upkeep of the Abbey of Dunfermline, which had been what was called ‘cast down’ three years before, and to the action of John Knox himself with regard to Scone, when the building was ruined in spite of him. As regards the Cathedral of St. Andrews, I commend to consideration not only Knox’s own description of what occurred, and which does not seem to me to warrant the impression often conveyed by modern

writers, but also the arguments of Mr. Fleming as to the bad condition of the building for some time before its sack, in 1559.

The last occasion upon which St. Andrews appears as the centre of the national life was the sitting of Parliament in 1645-6. Just as the Reformation may be traced from the Great Schism, so may the Covenant be traced from the Reformation. And this is no doubt the case as regards the First Covenant, but the Solemn League and Covenant I am inclined to regard less in this light than in that of an expression of the national spirit, for, although its first article connects it with the earlier document, the essential principle of the second is the same as that of the clause apparently added to the Coronation Oath for the first time in 1331, on the recommendation of John XXI. in 1329, and certainly administered to David, Duke of Rothesay, in 1399, while the remaining four articles do not differ in principle from that of the famous declaration of the Barons of Scotland in 1320. With regard to the blood which was shed by this St. Andrews Parliament, and to which I think that an undue amount of relative attention is sometimes called, I will only express the hope that, as regards the Irish prisoners, we may form an exaggerated idea of the numbers who suffered, and we must regard the episode in the light of the nature of their unprovoked invasion of the country under Montrose, and especially of their acts at Kilsyth, and above all, at Aberdeen. Whatever it was, I believe it was not as sanguinary, not only as the action of the French Republican Government

in Brittany, but as that of the Hanoverian Government after the '45. As regards regular judicial proceedings, there can be no comparison between the moderate justice with which the Covenanting Government selected for punishment a few of the highest and most responsible leaders, and the almost promiscuous vindictiveness with which the Hanoverian consigned to a death of studied horror a great number of persons, even down to the humblest walks of life. And the same moderation once more appears towards the close of the century, in the philosophical self-restraint which—unlike the silly fanaticism which defaced the arms of Peter de Luna—has left us intact in the Parish Church, even after 1689, the blatant monument of Archbishop Sharp.

I have quoted the saying of him who called the eighteenth century the Valley of the Shadow of Death more than once, and still I cannot find another phrase which seems to me so truly to depict it. So in Scotland—1706-7—1715-6—1745-6. In St. Andrews the *Imum Cæli* was probably reached when the Butcher Duke of Cumberland was elected Chancellor in 1746, and next year St. Leonard's College may be said to have collapsed from inanition.

Eppur', si muove—or, as I would rather say, *Eppure, sta.* Anyhow, it abides still.

I have spoken of the past. Perhaps I should in any case have been borne in that direction by my own idiosyncrasy, or by the same profound veneration for this spot which led my Assessor, when he was invited to preach the University sermon, to choose for his text the words : ' Put off thy shoes

from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.' But after all, how could I, here and now, have spoken of the present or of the future? In the present there are 'fightings within and fears without.' And yet perhaps a voice, however feeble, which speaks here of the past, may aspire to do a little both for the present and for the future by fanning the noble ambition to have a present, and to make a future, worthy of a noble past.

Of the future how could I have spoken? I have heard a distinguished man utter the hideous word *Euthanasia*. I myself have sometimes dreamt of the primeval headland, still lifting skyward its crown of antient towers, but with that crown encircled by an aureola of affiliated colleges—a commonwealth of seats of learning, an Oxford of the North.

Anyhow, even as in the days of Constantine, the son of Aedh, the house of the Apostle still stands upon the brink of the waves. May it stand.

On the 5th of March, in this year, I took a walk with Professor Knight to Drumcarrow. It was a fine, sunny day. We stood among the remains of the pre-historic fort, and looked over the bright view, the glorious landscape enriched by so many memories, the city of St. Andrews enthroned upon her sea-girt promontory, the German Ocean stretching to the horizon, from where it chafes upon the cliffs which support her walls. And we remarked how God and man, how nature and history, had alike marked this place as an ideal home of learning and culture. And then the view and the

name of the Apostle together carried my thoughts away to another land and to a narrower and land-locked sea. I do not mean that where Patrai, the scene of Andrew's death, looks from the shores of Achaia towards the home of Ulysses over waters rendered for ever glorious by the victory of Lepanto. I do not mean the City of Constantine, where the first Christian Emperor enshrined his body, and where the union of ineffably debased luxury and ineffably debased misery, which drains into the sea of Marmora, excites a disgust which almost chokes grief and humiliation. Neither do I mean those sun-baked precipices which, by the shores of the Gulf of Salerno, beetle over the grave where lies the body that was conformed in death to the likeness of the death of the Lord. I mean the land of Andrew's birth—the hot, brown hills, which, far below the general sea-level of the world, gird in the Lake of Gennesereth,—that strange landscape which also is not unknown to me, the environing circle of arid steeps, at whose feet, nevertheless, the occasional brakes of oleander raise above the line of the waters their masses of pink blossom, and whence the eye can see the snows of Hermon glistening against the sky far away,—and I pray that some words which he heard uttered upon one of those hills may be realized here,—that the physical situation of this place may be but a parable of its moral position,—and that it may yet be said of the House of the Apostle that ‘the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.’

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